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REMARKS

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

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REMARKS

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY JOHN JORTIN, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF LONDON, RECTOR OF ST DUNSTAN IN THE EAST, AND VICAR OF KENSINGTON.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

Διὰ δυσφημίας ϗ εὐφημίας.

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REMARKS

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TO

THE MOST REVEREND

THOMAS,

LORD ARCHBISHOP

OF

CANTERBURY,

My Lord,

AS the foregoing book had the advantage of appearing under the patronage of a name so highly respected and esteemed, I beg leave to present this also to your Grace, for whom alone it ever was intended.

The Church of Christ increasing in splendor, and decreasing in virtue; the origin and progress of superstition and spiritual tyranny; the unhappy controversies which signalized the fourth century; the councils called to compose these disputes, and never answering the purposes for which they were designed; the character of the ecclesiastical historians who have transmitted to us the memory of these events; the laws of the first Christian emperor, which, like himself, had a mixture of good and bad; the accomplishment of the prophecies in the destruc-

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tion of the persecutors of Christianity; the state of the Jews ever since their rejection, and the hopes which Christians entertain that God in his appointed time will shew mercy and favour to his once chosen people; these are the subjects which I have endeavoured to examine and discuss, without adulation or dissimulation, with sober liberty and disinterested inquiry, and which I offer to your Grace, with gratitude, respect, and affection, as to a most candid and impartial judge; wishing, with the Public, that your health may be established, and that you may long continue an ornament and a blessing to the Church and State.

I am,

MY LORD,

Your GRACE's most obliged,

and obedient humble Servant,

A. D. 1754. JOHN JORTIN.

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REMARKS

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK THIRD.

A. D. 311. CONSTANTINE being disposed to protect and embrace Christianity, which his father had greatly favoured, and about to fight Maxentius, prayed to God for his assistance. As he was marching, he saw in the afternoon, in the sky, over the sun, a shining cross, with this inscription, τούτῳ νίκα, joined to it. The sight astonished him and the army which accompanied him. This he related to Eusebius with his own mouth, and sware to the truth of it, at a time when many of the soldiers were living. Ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ἡλίου ὥρας ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης, αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἔφη ἐν αὐτῷ ὑραν῵ ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ ἡλίου σαυρὸν τροπαιον ἐκ φωτὸς συνισάμενον, γραφήν τε αὐτῷ συνῆφθαι, λέγουσαν, τούτῳ νίκα. *Horis diei meridianis, sole in occasum vergente, crucis tropæum in cœlo ex luce conflatum, soli superpositum, ipsis oculis se vidisse affirmavit, cum hujusmodi inscriptione:* Hac vince. *Euseb.* Vit. Const. i. 28.

Concerning this story there have been these opposite opinions:

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That it was a miracle, wrought in favour of Constantine and of Christianity :

That it was a pious fraud, a mere stratagem of Constantine, to animate his soldiers, and to engage the Christians firmly on his side.

Fabricius, as an *honorarius arbiter*, comes between both, and allows the fact, but rejects the miracle, *Bibl. Gr.* vi. 8.

There is, says he, a natural appearance, a *solar halo*, which sometimes represents a lucid cross ; and this is so rarely seen, that it is no wonder if Constantine and they who beheld it with him, accounted it miraculous, especially at that juncture.

If this was no miracle, yet it tended to the service of Christianity, and to bring about the great revolution which then happened.

There are in historians ancient and modern, and in the *Philosophical Transactions*, descriptions of such *phænomena*, and also of lucid circles or crowns accompanying them. Fabricius gives an account and a representation of some.

Thus far all goes well enough : but the great difficulty is the inscription, τούτῳ νίκα, for which Fabricius offers this solution that * γραφὴ means a *picture*

* Eusebius uses γραφὴ for a *picture*, speaking of the cross, represented in a picture of Constantine. Ὁ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐν ΓΡΑΦΗΣ ὑψηλοτάτῳ πίνακι πρὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν προθύρων ἀνακειμένῳ, τοῖς πάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾶσθαι προτίθει, τὸ μὲν σωτήριον ὑπερκείμενον τῆς αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς ΤΗ ΓΡΑΦΗ παραδούς· τὸν δὲ ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον θῆρα, τὸν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀθέων πολιορκήσαντα τυραννίδος, καλαὶ βύθιον φερόμενον ποιήσας ἐν δράκοντος μορφῇ.—διὸ καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ποσὶ, βέλει πεπαρμένον καλαὶ μέσου τοῦ κύτους, βυθοῖς τε θαλάσσης ἀπερριμμένον, διὰ τῆς κεροχύτου ΓΡΑΦΗΣ ἐδείκνυ τοῖς φασὶ τὸν δράκοντα.—ὃν καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἀνακειμένου

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picture as well as a *writing*, and that λέγειν, when applied to a picture or image, means to *denote* or *imply*, and that the words of Constantine and Eusebius may be thus interpreted; To the cross was adjoined a picture or image, intimating that by this he should conquer, which image was a lucid crown, a representation or symbol of victory.

To this I add, that Eusebius, by not using the words στοιχεῖα or γράμματα, nor mentioning in what language * it was written, seems to speak rather of an emblem or picture than of a writing.

Add to this, that in the standard which Constantine ordered to be made in form of a cross, in memory of this omen, he placed a crown of gold and jewels on the top of it, and a cypher denoting the name of Christ, but not the words τούτῳ νίκα. *Euseb.* Vit. Const. i. 31.

Amongst the *Panegyrici Veteres*, the eighth is in praise of Constantine, and celebrates his victory over Maxentius, but says not a word of the cross. The author of this panegyric was a pagan. The ninth also

Ζωῆρίῳ τροπαίῳ, καλὰ βυθῶν ἀπωλείας κεχωρηκέναι ἐδήλω. Quinetiam in sublimi quadam tabula ante vestibulum palatii posita, cunctis spectandum proposuit salutare quidem signum capiti suo superpositum: infra vero hostem illum et inimicum generis humani, qui impiorum tyrannorum opera Ecclesiam Dei oppugnaverat, sub draconis forma in præceps ruentem.—Idcirco Imperator draconem telis per medium ventrem confixum, et in profundos maris gurgites projectum, sub suis suorumque liberorum pedibus cera igne resoluta depingi proponique omnibus voluit:—quem salutaris illius tropæi quod capiti ipsius superpositum erat, vi ac potentia in exitii barathrum detrusum esse significabat. *Vit. Const.* iii. 3.

* Philostorgius supplies that defect, and says that it was in Latin: *In hoc vince*, p. 478. But Philostorgius did not see it, and his testimony ought to go for nothing.

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also, composed by Nazarius, is silent concerning this prodigy. One of the panegyrists speaks of a bad omen, by which he might mean the cross. See Tillemont *H. des Emp.* iv. 632. *not.*

But, after all, it seems rather more natural to interpret γραφὴν λέγουσαν of a writing than of a picture. It is an ugly circumstance, and I wish we could get fairly rid of it.

Licinius, if we may believe the writer *de Mortibus Persecutorum*, was instructed by an angel how to obtain the victory over Maximinus, *cap.* xlvi. p. 276. This seems to have been a military stratagem of Licinius, to regain the favour of the Christians, and to animate his soldiers.

It hath been controverted whether Licinius ever was a Christian. Cardinal Noris takes the negative, Pagi and Basnage the affirmative. The truth of the case seems to have been, that he pretended for some time to be a Christian, but never was so; and that, finding the Christians to be much more fond of Constantine than of himself, he threw off the mask. See S. Basnage *Ann.* ii. 667.

When the church under Constantine and his successors enjoyed the protection of the civil powers, the Christians compared their present with their past condition, and called to mind the sufferings of their predecessors, and the patience and fortitude which they had exerted, particularly in the last and severest persecutions. These considerations raised in them an high, and indeed a just veneration for the martyrs: but it did not stop here, it ran into excess, and produced bad effects. Every rumour concerning the behaviour of those saints was received without due examination, the number of the sufferers was augmented, the suf-

ferings

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ferings of some of them were exaggerated, and many fictitious miracles were added to the account. Their bodies were discovered by the help of visions and revelations, and were said to emit perfumes, and to work miracles without end. This drew a great resort to their graves, and every one had his story to tell of the benefits which himself or his neighbour had received. To have been suspicious or slow of belief on such occasions would have passed for little better than atheism, and thus the frenzy grew epidemical. In the time of Augustin, many real or pretended monks went strolling about, as hawkers and pedlars, selling the bones, and reliques of martyrs *. *August.* de Op. Monach. 28.

The fathers of those times, as Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, and who not, but particularly Chrysostom with his popular eloquence, contributed to the utmost of their power to encourage the superstitious veneration and invocation of saints, the love of monkery, and the belief of miracles wrought by monks and reliques. Some of these fathers, particularly Gregory, were in other respects valuable men, but this was the distemper of the age, and they were not free from it. See Chrysostom T. i. *Orat.* 40. p. 485. *Ed. Par.*

Thence arose religious addresses to the martyrs, who were considered as patrons and intercessors, which tended to lessen the reliance and gratitude due to Christ, and to substitute new expedients in the room of rational piety and strict morality; and those Christians who were conscious of their own defects began to pay immoderate honours to the martyrs, that

* See a Dissertation of Mabillon, *De Cultu Sanctorum ignotorum*, in the *Act. Erud.* 1699. p. 107.

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that by their interest they might obtain remission of sins. Prudentius, who had a fine genius, and was a good poet for the time in which he flourished, to atone, as he says, for the follies of his youth, spent his latter days in defending the catholic faith, and in composing hymns to the martyrs, and expresses his hopes that Saint Romanus would do him a considerable service at the day of judgment, for the sake of a poem in which he had celebrated that martyr.

Vellem sinister inter Hœdorum greges
Ut sum futurus, eminus dinoscerer,
Atque hoc precante, diceret Rex optimus,
Romanus orat, transfer huc hœdum mihi;
Sit dexter agnus; induatur vellere.

Περὶ Στεφ. 10.

These practices suited the half-converts and nominal Christians, who came over for the loaves, under Christian emperors. The gay and splendid appearance of the church helped to allure them; they found new religious amusements to make up for those which they had quitted, and if they were superstitious before, they might be so still, *mutatis mutandis*. In the room of gods and goddesses they had saints male and female, lord and lady protectors, to whom they might pay their respects: and instead of sleeping in their own temples, they could slumber over the bones of the martyrs, and receive as good information and assistance. If they longed for miracles, portents, prodigies, prophecies, visions, dreams, omens, divinations, amulets, charms, *&c.* they might be supplied.

Thus the fathers of the fourth century in general introduced an irregular worship of the saints. I am sorry that I cannot entirely acquit Eusebius upon this head: He speaks thus in his *Præparatio*, xiii. 11.

" Τῶν

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" Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀποθανόντων ἐπὶ σραξείας, ὃς ἂν εὐδοκιμήσας τελευτήσῃ, " ἆρ' οὐ σρῶτον μὲν φήσομεν τῦ χρυσοῦ γένους εἶναι; Πάν γε μάλισα. " Ἀλλ' οὐ σειόμεθα Ἡσίοδον, ἐπειδάν τινες τῦ τοιῦτου γένους τελευτήσωσιν, ὡς ἄρα,

" Οἱ μὲν, δαίμονες ἁγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι τελέθουσιν,

" Ἐσθλοὶ, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες μερόπων ἀνθρώπων;

" Πειόμεθα μὲν δή. Διαπυθόμενοι ἄρα τῷ Θεῷ, σῶς χρὴ τὺς Δαι- " μονίους τε καὶ θείους τιθέναι, καὶ τίνι διαφόρῳ, οὕτω καὶ ταύτῃ θησο- " μεν ἢ ἂν ἐξηγῆται. Τί δ' οὐ μελλομεν; Καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν δὴ χρό- " νον, ὡς Δαίμονας γεγονότας, οὕτω σεραπεύσομεν τε, καὶ σροσκυνήσο- " μεν αὐτῶν τὰς θήκας. Τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα νομιοῦμεν, ὅταν τὶς " γήρᾳ, ἢ τινι ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ τελευτήσῃ, τῶν ὅσοι ἂν διαφερόντως ἐν " τῷ βίῳ ἀγαθοὶ κριθῶσι." Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἁρμόζει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεο- φιλῶν τελευτῇ, ὃς σρατιώτας τῆς ἀληθῦς εὐσεβείας οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοις εἰπὼν, σαραλαμβανεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν ἔθος ἡμῖν σαρίεναι, καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς σαρὰ ταύταις σοιεῖσθαι, τιμᾶν τε τὰς μακαρίας αὐτῶν ψυχὰς, ὡς εὐλόγως καὶ τύτων ὑφ' ἡμῶν γιγνομένων. Jam vero *(inquit Plato)* qui post egregia virtutis exempla, honestam in bello mortem occubuerint, numquid eos in primis ex aureo illo genere fuisse dicemus? Maxime vero. Num etiam Hesiodum audiemus, dum ex eo genere qui vivendi finem fecerint, de illis ita pronunciat,

Sunt alii Heroes casti, terrasque frequentant,
Atque ultro mala depellunt, hominesque tuentur?

Sane audiemus. Consulto itaque Numine, quonam Heroes illos ac Semideos ritu, quove discrimine consecrari oporteat, religiose omnino quicquid responderit, observabimus. Enimvero faciendum id erit. Tum illos deinceps tanquam Heroas venerabimur, eorumque sepulcra sanctiore cultu prosequemur. Eadem porro statuimus, ubi quis post vitam cum excellentis probitatisopinione traductam, supremum autsenio, autalio quovis modo diem obierit. *Hæc Plato. Quæ quidem*

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quidem in hominum Deo carissimorum obitus egregie conveniunt, quos vere pietatis milites jure appellaris. Nam et eorum sepulcra celebrare, et preces ibi votaque nuncupare, et beatas illorum animas venerari consuevimus, idque a nobis merito fieri statuimus.

This, though it contains no direct invocation of saints, inclines too much towards it. Therefore Vigerus thought it worthy of a marginal note, and writes MARTYRUM CULTUS, lest the unattentive reader should pass it by.

The argument stands thus: Why should not we Christians shew the same regard to our saints and martyrs which the pagans paid to their heroes? and the argument, together with the authority of Plato in this point, is good for nothing.

"Montfaucon observes that Eusebius* p. 486. "testifies that the good actions of holy men, which "he calls their merits, may be beneficial after their "death to him who shall pray to God to shew him "mercy for their sakes. This may be admitted in "some sense; for, after all, God may, if he thinks "fit, shew favour to a person for the memory of a "saint; but as it is Jesus Christ who is the sole "foundation of our redemption, and as he has or-"dered us to pray to God only in his name, it is "much more safe to hold fast to that, and not to e-"stablish, from our own head, new forms of devo-"tion, which were unknown in the apostolical times, "and which at last grew to an excess that was past "all bearing." *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. et M. iv. 16.

To observe a proper mean in the public respect due to departed saints, was a difficult point, and required more

* In his Commentary on the Psalms, published by Montfaucon.

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more care and caution than the fathers and ecclesiastics of the fourth century thought fit to bestow upon it. Nothing seemed more reasonable than to celebrate suffering virtue, and to reverence those illustrious persons who had preferred duty to riches, honours, pleasures, and length of days. Gratitude, and dear affection, and friendship, and every commendable disposition pleaded for such a practice; and by it an holy emulation was kindled, and Christians were excited to imitate those whom they admired, and whom they saw thus honoured and praised. But the transition from lawful to unlawful veneration was easily made; and as the Pagans from honouring their heroes soon began to deify them, it was easy to foresee that the Christians who were come over, or half-over from Paganism, would behave themselves much in the same manner towards saints and martyrs, unless they were diligently restrained. And yet the fathers, instead of guarding against this rising evil, gave it encouragement by their many indiscretions.

Hubertus Languetus, in one of his epistles, observes that the day of the martyrdom of John Huss was kept at Prague with a solemnity approaching to superstition. *Ita autem celebratur ejus memoria, ut ea res aliquid superstitionis mihi habere videatur.* It may be so; but if a little enthusiasm and superstition is pardonable in any case, it is in paying honours to those worthies, who were massacred by cruel bigots and by nominal Christians, and who acted or suffered in defence of liberty civil or religious, names far more venerable than one half of those which fill up the calendars and martyrologies. There is no great danger that Protestants should ever run into such excess, as to worship their heroes and martyrs.

Praying

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Praying at the tombs of the martyrs was one of the fooleries which the fathers should have restrained. What an idea did it give, to weak Christians, of the Almighty, who ought to be worshipped in spirit and in truth? As if He could be supposed to shew more favour to a petition, because it was offered up at the place where a good man lay buried?

As the honours paid to the dead and to the reliques of the martyrs were set forward and supported, though not entirely, yet principally by the Consubstantialists, the Arians seem to have been rather less disposed to run into these puerilities. Faustus the Manichæan reproaches the Catholic Christians with their endless superstitions of this kind, and tells them that they were no better than humble imitators of Pagan Idolaters.

What the Pagans said of their gods coming at certain times to visit their cities, the Christians afterwards said of their saints. See Valesius on *Euseb.* p. 445, 6.

Juturna Nympha, quæ juvaret. Itaque multi ægroti propter id nomen, hinc aquam petere solent, says Varro. For the same reason women big with child sacrificed to Egeria, *quod eam putarent facile fœtum alvo egerere*, Festus.

In like manner Christians have adored those saints, whose names resembled their diseases, their wants, their trades, *&c.* See La Motthe Le Vayer *Hexam. Rustique*, p. 136, *&c.* who banters these superstitions of those of his own communion.

The sufferings of the martyrs had another effect upon persons of more zeal than prudence, and of a fervid and fanatical disposition. The times of martyrdom were over, and that sort of courage and constancy

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stancy could not be exerted; and therefore pious people contrived a method of voluntary martyrdom, and inflicted upon themselves as many pains and penalties as Pagan cruelty had invented. They left parents, wives, children, friends, families, and fortunes, they retired from the world, they obliged themselves to a single and solitary life, they allowed themselves no more food, raiment, and sleep, than would just keep body and soul together; and in these austerities, to do them justice, there was usually no dissimulation; all was performed in earnest. Several of them, as Theodorus and Symeon Stylites, when their mothers or sisters came to visit them, and earnestly begged admittance, would not be seen. When any of them quitted their retirement and returned to the world, they were considered as apostates, and men lost to goodness, but they might enter into the church.

At first they set at defiance all learning, as useless or pernicious, and imitated their father Antony, who was entirely illiterate. They spent their time in working with their hands, and in silence, prayer, and contemplation; but afterwards, when they were formed into societies, they betook themselves to study.

They dwelt apart, each in his hole, so that most of them kept sad company, and by this moping and ever-musing life, they were prepared and qualified to dream dreams, and see visions, and to converse with angels and dæmons, and many miracles were said to be wrought by them, which found easy credit and reception in a credulous age.

The devils used often to appear to the monks in the figure of Ethiopian boys or men, and thence probably the painters learned to make the devil black.

Evagrius

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Evagrius, an adorer of monkery, hath given us a strange account of the monks of Palestine in the fifth century. Some, says he, shut up in monasteries, exercise all sorts of macerations; some dwell in little dens of the earth, just big enough to hold them; others of a more eminent degree, males and females, repair to desert places, wearing nothing except a small covering of their nakedness; and walking upon all-four, eat grass and roots like the beasts, and if they see any passenger, they run away and hide themselves. Another sort of monks, more perfect than all the former, haunt the cities and the places of the greatest resort, *pretending to be mad*, and run into public houses *, and eat and drink with any sort of people, and frequent the baths continually, and above all, seek out the company of the women who go there, and wash themselves along with them, &c. *Balnea publica frequenter adeunt, et simul cum mulieribus diversantur et lavant. Adeo omni perturbatione animi superiores, ut naturæ ipsi vim inferant, et nec aspectu, nec tactu, nec amplexu ipso mulieris, ad ea quæ naturæ ipsorum propria sunt, inclinari queant. Sed cum viris quidem viri sunt, feminæ vero cum feminis. Non enim unius, sed utriusque simul sexus esse cupiunt.* i. 21. You may think perhaps that Evagrius intended to insult or ridicule them. 'Tis no such thing; he is very serious.

Gregory Nazianzen, celebrating the absurd austerities and mortifications of the monks of Nazianzen, tells us, that some of them, through an excess of zeal, killed themselves, to be released from the wicked world, p. 107.

Pachomius the monk earnestly exhorted his disciples to discover without delay their temptations to the wisest

* *Into brothel-houses*, says Nicephorus.

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wisest of their brethren, by whom they might be instructed how to get the victory over them, lest by concealing them too long, they should be carried to horrible extremities; for he assured them that many upon that account had flung themselves from the rocks, had cut open their bellies, and had killed themselves in various ways. *Tillemont* H. E. vii. 199. Nothing is more probable than that such a course of life should produce melancholy madness.

Some of the philosophers had exercised strange severities upon themselves and upon their disciples, from the days of Pythagoras down to the time of Lucian, who introduces the philosopher Nigrinus as condemning such practices, and observing that they had occasioned the death of several persons. Vol. i. p. 67. where Hemsterhusius says; *Christiani Ascètæ, postquam vestitum veterum philosopherum adsciverant, hæc quoque quæ Lucianus merito deridet, prepostera formandæ pietatis instrumenta non spreverunt; quo de genere non pauca reperies in Vitis Patrum, et Cassiani Institutionibus. Multa notant, sed admodum perturbate. Cresoll. Th. Rhet.* v. 6, 7. *Boilav. Hist. Flag.* c. iv. *p.* 78.

They who had not the resolution to join themselves with these monks, yet admired what they would not imitate, *and all the people magnified them.*

Monkery was pretty well established in the time of Constantine. It began in the eastern countries, in Egypt, Palestine, and Persia, before it was introduced into the western parts of the Roman empire.

" Palladius was a friend of Rufinus and of St Chry-
" sostom, a defender of Origen, a favourer of Pelagius,
" and an adversary of St Jerom. His History of the
" Monks and of their miracles, contains, like most o-
" ther accounts of this kind, many extraordinary
" things

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" things. Amongst several instances of solid virtue " and useful reflections, we find in it childish obser- " vations, examples which it would be dangerous to " imitate, extravagant austerities, unreasonable ac- " tions, and injudicious enterprises." *Du Pin.*

Palladius was a bishop, and had been a monk himself. He wrote the lives of the monks down to his own time, to A. D. 420. His book is called *Historia Lausiaca;* a work, says Fabricius, *quod nemo leget sine summa admiratione studii incredibilis quo viri illi et feminæ tam cnixe conati sunt austeritate vitæ celibis et solitariæ, cultu durissimo, inedia ac jejuniis vix humanis, et abstinentia ab omnibus commodis vitæ, assequi sanctimoniam. Quamquam hanc in longe aliis rebus consistere, aliis peti alique, neque in solitudines esse relegandam, et cum conjugio et societate hominum neutiquam pugnare tum sacræ literæ tum ratio sana et sanctorum hominum non solitariorum conjugumque exempla, et Monachorum atque Eremitarum peccata testantur.* Bibl. Gr. ix. 5.

The Greek philosophers had a particular dress, and affected to appear rough, mean, and dirty, for which they were sometimes insulted in the streets by boys, and by the populace; and the Cynics, very prudently, were armed with a staff, to defend themselves from dogs and from the rabble. The Christian monks imitated the old philosophers in their garb and appearance, and many of them seemed, in the opinion of those who loved them not, to have inherited the rags, the pride, and the contentious spirit of the former.

Some of them, out of mortification, would not catch or kill the vermin which devoured them; in which they far surpassed the Jews, who only spared them upon the Sabbath day. *Qui pediculum Sabbato necat, tam*

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tàm reus est, quam qui camelum Sabbato necaret: says a Rabbi.

Ammon, the father of the Egyptian monks, in the days of his youth, being importuned by his relations to take a wife, married a young virgin, and on the wedding evening entertained her with a long harangue against the married state, and made her as fanatical as himself. The conclusion of which was, that they both eloped from their house, and fled to the desert, and there led a monastic life. *Socrates* iv. 23.

We may compare this with the metamorphosis of Hippomenes and Atalanta, who on their wedding day were turned into lions:

modo levia fulvæ
Colla jubæ velant: digiti curvantur in ungues:
Ex humeris armi fiunt: in pectora totum
Pondus abit: summæ cauda verruntur arenæ.
Iram vultus habet; pro verbis murmura reddunt:
Pro thalamis celebrant silvas.

Ovid *Met.* x.

However, the monks, even in the earliest times, were not all of them such wonderful examples of mortification, as we learn from an unexceptionable witness, who was a fast friend and patron of monkery, from Athanasius. Writing to Dracontius, a monk, who had been chosen a bishop, and wanted much to decline the office, he says, *When you are a bishop, you may fast and drink no wine: for we have known bishops who were fasters, and monks who were eaters; bishops who abstained from wine, and monks who drank it; bishops who wrought miracles, and monks who wrought none: many of the bishops have kept themselves even from matrimony, and monks have been the fathers of children.* Epist. ad Dracont.

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Tillemont, when he gives an account of this epistle, omits the passage we have cited; and Du Pin in his *Bibliotheque* hath inserted it. Each had his reasons.

Jerom exhorts Rusticus, a monk, to live in a monastery, rather than to be an hermit in a solitary place. He sets forth the inconveniencies and bad consequences of this way of life. An hermit, says he, becomes proud, thinks himself a man of importance, forgets what he is, eats what he will, sleeps as much as he thinks fit, stands in awe of no person, is oftener rambling in the streets than at home in his cell. Not that I blame a solitary life, but I would have men first learn their spiritual exercises in a monastery. *Du Pin.*

They who have judged monasteries to be hurtful or useless, yet ever approved of universities, colleges, halls, schools, public libraries, hospitals, and places set apart for the relief of the miserable, the encouragement of literature, and the education of youth. Our Chelsea-college, as they say, was designed by King James I. for *polemic divines;* and then, with a very small and easy alteration, it was made a receptacle of *maimed and disabled soldiers.*

If the king's project had been put in execution, the house would probably have been an house of discord; and *Peace be within thy walls*, would have been a fruitless wish, and a prayer bestowed in vain upon it.—*Eo primum fine fundatum fuit (hoc Collegium) a Jacobo primo, ut illic Theologi alerentur, quorum officium esset, ut publice oppugnarent novas in Ecclesiæ hæreses.* Act. Erudit. MDCCIX. p. 114.

The *Baleares*, to teach their children the use of the sling, hung up their dinner, and did not let them eat it, till they had fetched it down with a stone. In like manner,

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manner, the fellows of this college were not to have been admitted to commons, till they had discovered a new heresy in the writings of some contemporary, and had confuted the doctrine and worried the author.

Constantine held in the highest veneration those who addicted themselves to *divine philosophy*, as it was called in those days, that is, to monkery; and the holy women who preserved a perpetual virginity, these he almost adored. So says Eusebius, who was carried away himself with the torrent, and over-valued this strange way of life. *Vit. Const.* iv. 26. 28. *Demonst. Ev.* i. 8, 9. iii. p. 129. To some of these saints might have been applied what Tertullian says of the Roman god, Faunus Fatuus, *Curari eum magis quam consecrari decebat.*

But of all the praisers of virginity, Jerom seems to have performed his part the best, who calls Eustochium the nun *His lady*, because she was the spouse of his *Lord*, and reminds the mother of this lady, that she had the honour to be *God's mother-in-law*, *Socrus Dei.* Epist. ad Eustoch. T. iv. P. 2. p. 27. et 36.

After all, since some of the ancient monks seem to have been pious, honest, well-meaning, and sensible men, a doubt will arise whether the writers of their lives have not sometimes misrepresented them, as using more rigour and self-maceration than they really exercised; and whether they have not ascribed to them some freaks and follies into which they never fell, as well as miracles which they never performed. The sayings and the actions of these solitary saints, collected by Tillemont, Fleury, and others, and inserted in various parts of their ecclesiastical histories, are sometimes noble and commendable, charitable, discreet, compassionate, and good natured, but oftener

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trifling, frantic, absurd, and ridiculous, mixed with everlasting apparitions of devils, and with miracles of the most useless, fantastic and improbable kind. So the whole is a strange medley of piety and folly, sense and nonsense.

Concerning the miracles wrought in the fourth and fifth centuries, this general observation may be made, that they were usually performed, either to serve the cause of the Consubstantialists and to run down Arianism, (as afterwards Nestorianism and Pelagianism), or to establish the adoration of saints and of reliques, or to represent a monastic life as the summit of human piety, the quintessence of perfection, and a service the most acceptable to heaven. One would wonder how the physicians did to live in those days, when this effusion of miracles seemed to have rendered their art altogether unnecessary. They could have had no business, except amongst Pagans, Jews, heretics, and schismatics.

The Egyptian monks, says Sozomen, preserved with great care the memory of the wonders wrought by their founders and fore-fathers; but they thought it proper to deliver them down from one to another by word of mouth, not by written records. Perhaps they were driven to this method by necessity, and because they could neither write nor read.

As a story never loses in telling, the wonders were daily augmented by this excellent contrivance, and the traditionary snow-ball, rolled about by the monks, licked up new materials, and made a considerable figure. Πολλὰ δὲ ἡ θεσπέσια ἐπ' αὐτῷ (ὑμβέβηκεν, ἃ μάλιστα τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον Μοναχοῖς ἠκρίβωται, περὶ πολλῦ ποιμένοις, διαδοχῇ παραδόσεως ΑΓΡΑΦΟΥ ἐπιμελῶς ἀπομνημονεύειν τὰς τῶν παλαιοτέρων Ἀσκητῶν ἀρετάς. *Multa porro per eum* (Ammonem) *mirabilia*

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mirabilia contigerunt, quæ ab Ægypti Monachis studiose notata sunt: quippe qui magni æstimant, veterum Monachorum virtutes continua successione sibi a majoribus traditas accurate commemorare, i. 14.

Valesius hath not expressed the sense altogether so clearly as he ought to have done.

The Egyptians were by nature disposed to bear austerities and mortifications, and fit to become monks. *Homines autem Ægyptii plerique subfusculi sunt, et atrati—gracilenti, et aridi, ad singulos motus excandescentes, controversi et reposcones acerrimi. Erubescit apud eos, si quis non inficiando tributa, plurimas in corpore vibices ostendat. Et nulla tormentorum vis inveniri adhuc potuit, quæ obdurato illius tractus latroni invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat.* Amm. Marcell. xxii. 16. Αἰγυπτίους φασὶ δεινῶς ἐγκαρτερεῖν ταῖς βασάνοις, ἢ ὅτι δᾶττον τεθνήξεσθαι ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος στρεβλούμενος ἢ τ' ἀληθὲς ὁμολογήσαι. Ælian *Var. Hist.* vii. 18.

The Emperor Valens made a law to compel the monks to serve civil offices, and, as some say, to serve in the army, which was no bad scheme. See *Cod. Theod.* l. xii. *Tit.* i. p. 409. and Gothofred's notes, and Tillemont H. E. viii. 608. 808.

Quidam ignaviæ sectatores, desertis civitatum muneribus, captant solitudines ac secreta, et specie religionis cum cœtibus Monazontôn congregantur. Hos igitur atque hujusmodi, intra Ægyptum deprehensos, per Comitem Orientis, erui e latebris consultâ præceptione mandavimus, atque ad munia patriarum subeunda revocari.—Cod. Th. The same law is to be found in Justinian's Code. Many of these monks, as it appears from ecclesiastical history, had such a martial spirit, and were so addicted to fighting, that they were fitter for the camp than for the cloister.

But

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But it is not probable that Valens would have done the Egyptian monks so much honour as to list them for soldiers, or that they had the legal qualifications requisite for it. He compelled them *militare*, as Orosius and others say; but in those days the words *militia* and *militare* were used for all kind of public offices, civil as well as military.

In the fourth century the number of the monks and nuns of Egypt alone amounted to more than ninety-six thousand. *Fleury* H. E. v. p. 30.

One reason of this multiplication of monks was, that they were a collection of all sorts of people, of beggars, fugitives, vagabonds, slaves, day-labourers, peasants, mechanics of the lowest sort, thieves and highway-men, inured to stripes, poverty, hunger, and hardships, so that a monastic life, such as it was, was preferable to that which they had led, and by becoming monks, they became gentlemen, and a sort of saints. We find from Augustin, that several of them refused to labour with their hands, and expected to be maintained in laziness, pretending that the good instruction which they imparted, and the good example which they set, deserved such a recompence; for which this father reprimands them. ii. *Retract.* c. 21.

The monks in all times had their friends and their foes, the first were generally of the clergy, and the second of the laity.

In the fourth century the people of Rome for the most part (as we learn from Jerom) abhorred the monks who repaired thither from the east, as beggarly impostors, and hungry Greeks, who seduced ladies of fortunes and quality, and often ruined their health by persuading them to practise rigid mortifications and austerities.

When

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When Jerom departed from Rome, A. D. 385, Paula with her daughter Eustochium followed him. She was an illustrious lady, of the family of the *Gracchii* and the *Cornelii*. Before she set out, she divided her effects amongst her children ; and then went to the haven, accompanied by her young, afflicted, weeping family, her brother, her children, and her kindred. *Parvus Toxotius*, says Jerom, *supplices manus tendebat in litore. Rufina jam nubilis, ut suas expectaret nuptias, tacitis fletibus obsecrabat.* But Paula, like another Regulus *, brake through all these dear obstacles. She went to Cyprus, to kiss the feet of Epiphanius ; thence to Antioch to visit Paulinus, and thence I know not whither.

What a folly for a grave matron to leave her family out of devotion, and, transformed into a religious gypsie, to roam about by sea and land from place to place, to visit monks and ecclesiastics ! and what a still greater indiscretion in Jerom to countenance such things ! The laics in those days had just cause to dislike the monks, who put such superstitious fancies into the heads of their mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters, and taught them to throw away their time and their money too ; for these travelling ladies used to carry alms and oblations with them, to be distributed as the directors of conscience should advise.

Homer was a much better preacher upon this subject, than the fathers of the fourth and following centuries :

Ἀλλ'

* *Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,*
Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,
Ab se removisse, et virilem
Torvus humi posuisse vultum,

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Ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ ϛαυλῆς ἔργα κόμιζε.
Ἰσόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, ϗ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
Ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι *.

Il. Z.

Melania, the younger, had the same kind of zeal, and was much admired for it. *Piniano juncta erat, juveni nobilissimo, quem duorum filiorum patrem fecerat.* Tantum eam cœpit odium matrimonii, ut dixerit marito suo Piniano filio Severi, qui erat ex Præfectis, Si volueris quidem habitare mecum ut ratio dictat, te dominum agnosco. Sin autem hoc tibi grave videtur utpote juveni, res omnes meas tibi habe, et solum sine me esse corpore liberam. Deus postea misertus adolescentis, ei zelum pietatis immisit. Cum ergo nupsisset viro, tredecim annos nata, septem vero cum eo vixisset, vigesimo ætatis suæ anno mundo renunciat. *Pallad. Laus. Omnia sua serica integumenta dedit altaribus, parteque prædiorum longe maximâ distractâ, collectam pecuniam in Palæstinam, Ægyptum, aliasque regiones pauperibus Monachisque distribuendam misit.* S. Basnage *Ann.* iii. 228. This was A. D. 408.

Ambrose was one of the violent declaimers in favour of virginity, and in a treatise on that subject he exhorts girls to enter into Nunneries, though against the will of their parents, which was highly indiscreet, to say no more, and which gave great offence to many Christians, even in those days. *De Virgin.* See Barbeyrac. Du Pin. T. ii. p. 246.

Constantine had a great desire to accomplish two very laudable designs: the first was to propagate Christianity and to convert unbelievers; the other was

* No more—but hasten to thy tasks at home,
There guide the spindle, and direct the loom.

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was to reunite Christians, and to compose their differences. In the first attempt he succeeded in some measure, but along with those who were sincere in their profession, there came a multitude of hypocrites and nominal Christians: the latter project he soon found to be impracticable.

In the persecution A. D. 303. Christians were required to give up their sacred books. They who complied were called *Traditores*. Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, was suspected of this fault, for which, and for other reasons, Donatus and his partizans refused to hold communion with him; and thus began the schism of the Donatists, which continued three hundred years, and overspread the provinces of Afric. Constantine took fruitless pains to settle this affair by councils and hearings, and finding the Donatists extremely refractory, he was provoked to use rough methods, and to banish their ringleaders; but afterwards he recalled them and gave them up, as he said, like incorrigible fools, to their own madness.

Those schismatics who wrangle in good earnest about trifles, have an incurable understanding and are unpersuadeable, and would fall out with themselves, if they had none else to oppose.

About the same time brake out the Arian controversy, which made more noise, and did more mischief. It was the occasion of innumerable lies, slanders, forgeries, pretended miracles, persecutions, banishments, seditions, and murders, of many false and partial histories, and of a multitude of councils which produced only confusion and discord. An evil dæmon, says Eusebius, who envied the peace and prosperity of the Church, set us at variance.

At

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At sæva e speculis tempus Dea nacta nocendi
Ardua tecta petit stabuli; et de culmine summo
Pastorale *canit* signum, *cornuque recurvo*
Tartaream intendit vocem: qua protenus omne
Contremuit nemus, et silvæ intonuere profundæ.
Audiit et Triviæ longe lacus, audiit amnis
Sulfurea Nar albus aqua, fontesque Velini:
Et trepidæ matres pressere ad pectora natos. *

Here also Constantine laboured in vain to bring things to an accommodation: the most probable way to effect it was not put in execution.

Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and Arius, who was a presbyter in his diocese, disputed together about the nature of Christ †; and the bishop being displeased at the notions of Arius, and finding that they were adopted by other persons, *was very angry*, says Socrates, πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐξάπτεται.

He commanded Arius to come over to his sentiments, and to quit his own: as if a man could change his opinions as easily as he can change his coat! τὸν Ἄρειον ὁμοίως φρονεῖν ἐκέλευσε. Soz.

He then called a council of war, consisting of near an hundred bishops, and deposed, excommunicated, and anathematized Arius, and with him several ecclesiastics, two of whom were bishops.

Ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
Caussa fuit.

The Benedictin editors of Athanasius tell us that Alexander was as mild as a lamb, *vir mitis et pacis amans*. Others will think perhaps that he and his assessors

* Virg. Æn. vii. 511.

† Si ulla pars est Theologiæ, in qua facile est aut errare aut accusari, est illa de Trinitate. *Grotius.*

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assessors were too expeditious in passing sentence, and ready to turn a brother out of doors without much ceremony.

Collige sarcinulas exclamat Præsul, et exi
Ocius, et propera.

Alexander then wrote a circular letter to all bishops, in which he represents Arius and his partizans as heretics, apostates, blasphemers, enemies of God, full of impudence and impiety, forerunners of Antichrist, imitators of Judas, and men whom it was not lawful to salute, or to bid God speed.

Yet Sozomen acknowledges that they were learned men, and in all appearance good men. *Cum igitur Alexander multos sanctioris vitæ specie venerabiles, et dicendi arte pollentes Arianis favere animadverteret, ac præcipue Eusebium, qui tunc temporis Nicomediensem Ecclesiam gubernabat, virum doctissimum, magnœque in palatio auctoritatis, cunctis ubique Episcopis scripset, ne cum illis communicarent.* Soz. i. 15. *At vero Eusebius, et alii quidam Orientalium partium Episcopi, qui tum doctrinæ tum sanctitatis causa per id tempus celeberrimi habebantur.*—Idem iii. 18.

Theodoret himself says of Basilius Ancyranus and Eustathius Sebastenus, who were Semiarian bishops. *Porro ambo familiares erant Imperatori* (Constantio) *et ob eximiam vitæ sanctimoniam summa apud eum auctoritate et fiducia pollebant.* ii. 25.

There is no reason to doubt of the probity and sincerity of those who opposed Alexander and the Nicene Fathers: for what did they get by it, besides obloquy, and banishment? Many good men were engaged on both sides of the controversy: So it was in the fourth century, and so it hath been ever since.

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In the same epistle, Alexander is very severe upon Eusebius of Nicomedia, who afterwards was the head of the Arian party.

In defence of the divinity and eternity of the Son he uses arguments which are not all of them conclusive, and brings texts of Scripture, of which some are, and others are not to the purpose. To prove the eternity of the Λόγος, he cites *Psal.* xlv. 1. *My heart is inditing a good matter.* In the Greek, Ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν. To this he adds another proof, which shews that he was a passable cabbalist: *Solomon*, says he, *declares*, Prov. xxx. 19. *that it is impossible to find out the way of a serpent upon a rock; which rock, as St Paul tells us, is Christ.* How hardened and perverse must those men have been, who could withstand such evidence!!

He declares that the Son is from all eternity, immutable, and perfectly like the Father in all things, excepting that he is not *unbegotten*, or *self-existing*; that upon this account the Father is *greater than the Son*, and that the Son is of a *middle nature* between the First Cause of all things, and the creatures, which from a state of non-existence were called into being.—μόνῳ τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ λειπόμενον ἐκείνου—ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπαίδευσεν ὁ Κύριος. ὁ Πατήρ μου, λέγων, μείζων μού ἐστίν—*hoc solo inferiorem Patre, quod ingenitus non est—sicut ipse Dominus docuit, cum ait, Pater major me est*, &c. And again :—μακρὸν ἂν εἴη μεταξὺ Πατρὸς ἀγεννήτου καὶ τῶν κτισθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων—ὧν μεσίτευουσα ΦΥΣΙΣ μονογενὴς, δι' ἧς τὰ ὅλα ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐποίησεν ὁ Πατὴρ τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ, ἡ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντος Πατρὸς γεγένηται.—*multum interest inter Patrem ingenitum et res ab illo creatas ex nihilo.—Inter quæ duo medium obtinens unigenita natura Dei Verbi, per quam Pater universa condidit ex nihilo,*

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filio, ex ipso vero Patre progenita est. Apud *Theodoret.* i. p. 17.

Benigne intelligendum est quod ait Alexander, says Valesius. It is very well observed; for without *benignity* and *grains of allowance*, Alexander himself will not be much better than the Semi-Arians.

Sed vos, Trojugenæ, vobis ignoscitis,—

Therefore Valesius, and several besides him, *interpret* the words of Alexander, so as to express their own *scholastic* language, and say that φύσις means *personality* considered abstractedly from *entity*. See Le Clerc *Art. Crit.* vol. i. p. 293. &c.

The difference between Alexander and the Semi-arians seems not to have been great. Yet Pachomius, the monk, had a revelation, and a voice from heaven, which directed him to follow the doctrine of Alexander. *Such was the testimony which God gave to the pure and orthodox faith of this holy prelate, who was soon to be attacked by the calumnies of the Arians.* Tillemont, H. E. vi. 216. If this be true, a man may be orthodox, without coming fully up to that standard of orthodoxy which was fixed in later ages. Monsieur Jurieu, whose zeal against heresy is well known, assures us that the fundamental articles of Christianity were not understood by the Fathers of the three first centuries, that the true system began to be modelled into some shape by the Nicene bishops, and was afterwards immensely improved and beautified by the following synods and counsels, that is, by the *Jurieus* of the fourth and fifth centuries. Thus did this warm and imprudent writer make concessions as large and liberal as his adversaries could desire, and deliver himself up to be buffeted by the Socinians, whom he had treated as the vilest of all heretics.

Philostorgius

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Philostorgius says that one Alexander Baucalis was the incendiary, who stirred up the unhappy quarrel between Alexander and Arius. He also tells us, that Alexander of Alexandria owed his bishoprick to Arius, who might have been chosen, but declined it, and preferred Alexander to himself; he also mentions some things which are not to the honour of Athanasius. Philostorgius indeed was an Arian; but there is no good reason why we should follow the example of modern ecclesiastical historians, and believe every thing that the Homoousians say concerning the Arians, and nothing that the Arians say concerning the Homoousians. It is best to be diffident, and not to trust overmuch to the relations of either party.

Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Eusebius the historian endeavoured to pacify Alexander, and to persuade him to make up the quarrel, and Constantine sent a letter by the illustrious Hosius of Corduba to Alexander and Arius, in which he reprimanded them both for disturbing the church with their insignificant disputes *ὑπὲρ μικρῶν καὶ λίαν ἐλαχίστων, de rebus parvis atque levissimis*, and exhorted them to mutual forbearance and forgiveness. Socrates commends this letter, and calls the emperor's sentiments wise and prudent. *Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ θαυμασίας σοφίας μεστὰ σαφήνει ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστολή.*—i. 8. which Valesius renders: *Et hæc quidem Imperator admirabili sapientia* præditus *per literas suadebat.* He should have said *prædita* or *plena*, but he seems, for certain good reasons, to have had a mind to translate it wrong. Eusebius also hath published and praised this epistle. Tillemont, Baronius, and many others, are highly offended at it, and suppose that the emperor when he wrote it, had some evil counsellor at his elbow, either Satan, or Eusebius.

But

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But the affair was gone too far to be thus composed, and Socrates represents both sides as equally contentious and refractory.

To settle this and other points, the Nicene council was summoned, consisting of about *three hundred and eighteen* bishops, a *mystical* number*, on which many profound remarks have been made.

The first thing that they did was to quarrel, and to express their resentments, and to present accusations to the emperor against one another. So say Socrates, Sozomen, Rufinus. Theodoret favours his brethren in this affair, and seems to throw the fault upon the laity. *Rufinus quidem ait Episcopos variis de causis inter se jurgantes libellos criminationum adversus collegas Constantino obtulisse. Theodoritus vero libellos illos porrectos fuisse dicit a Laicis, qui Episcopos variis de causis accusabant.* Valesius ad *Theod.* i. 11. But the whole story, as it is related by them all, and even by Theodoret, shews that the bishops accused one another.

The emperor burnt all their libels and exhorted them to peace and unity; so that if they had not been restrained by his authority, and by fear and respect, they would probably have spent their time in altercations. *Socrates* i. 8.

In ea sententia fuit Socrates, says Bishop Bull, *ut crederat Concilio Episcoporum vere Universali semper adesse Spiritus Sancti gratiam illuminatricem, quæ eos, utcunque rudes et imperitos (quod tamen Sabinus de Patribus Nicenis falso affirmaverat) ab errore saltem in necessariis Fidei articulis immunes custodiret.* Def. Fid. Nic. See *Socrates* i. p. 31.

Thus

* See Barnabas c. ix. p. 28. and his Commentators.

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Thus the *infallibility* of general councils is established. But where, I pray, is this written? and in what part of the New Testament shall we find this important doctrine?

What constitutes a general council? and how shall we know when it is *vere Universale?* For this it seems is a necessary requisite to draw down infallibility upon it.

Have bishops alone a right to vote in a general council? Why are presbyters excluded, &c.? Were even all the Christian bishops invited to the Nicene Council? Were the Novatian bishops admitted there? No, says Valesius; they deserved to be shut out as being schismatics. It may be so; but they were accounted orthodox in points of doctrine, and they had also a plausible claim to admittance, if they wrought miracles. Socrates tells us that some of them had these extraordinary gifts, and their miracles are as probable as those of Antony, of Hilarion, of Symeon, and of other monks. Four hundred bishops met together at Ariminum: did they constitute a general council? No; it was an Arian council, and therefore it must not be called *Concilium*, but *Conciliabulum*. Thus the question concerning *Universality* is somewhat embarrassed. But let us proceed to something that is not embarrassed, and that is sufficiently plain.

Let us imagine then a Council called by a Christian emperor, by a Constantine, a Constantius, a Theodosius, a Justinian, and three or four or five hundred prelates assembled together from all quarters, to decide a theological debate.

Let us consider a little by what various motives these various men may be influenced, as by reverence to

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the emperor, or to his counsellors and favourites, his slaves and eunuchs: by the fear of offending some great prelate, as a bishop of Rome or of Alexandria, who had it in his power to insult, vex, and plague all the bishops within and without his jurisdiction; by th edread of passing for heretics, and of being calumniated, reviled, hated, anathematized, excommunicated, imprisoned, banished, fined, beggared, starved, if they refused to submit; by compliance with some active leading and imperious spirits, by a deference to the majority, by a love of dictating and domineering, of applause and respect, by vanity and ambition, by a total ignorance of the question in debate, or a total indifference about it, by private friendships, by enmity and resentment, by old prejudices, by hopes of gain, by an indolent disposition, by good-nature, by the fatigue of attending, and a desire to be at home, by the love of peace and quiet, and a hatred of contention, *&c.*

Whosoever takes these things into due consideration will not be disposed to pay a blind deference to the authority of general councils; and will rather be inclined to judge that the council held by the apostles at Jerusalem was the first and the last in which the Holy Spirit may be affirmed to have presided.

Thus far we may safely go, and submit to an apostolical synod: but if once we proceed one step beyond this, we go we know not whether. If we admit the infallibility of one general council, why not of another? and where shall we stop? At the first Nicene council, A. D. 325. or at the second Nicene council, A. D. 787? They who disclaim private judgment, and believe the infallibility of the church, act consistently in holding the infallibility of councils;

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but they who take their faith from the Scriptures, and not from the church, should be careful not to require nor to yield too much regard to such assemblies, how numerous soever. Numbers in this case go for little, and to them the old proverb may be applied;

Est turba semper *argumentum pessimi.*

I would have said *sæpe*, but the verse will not admit it.

If even the Nicene council hath small pretensions to infallibility, the subsequent general councils, as that of Constantinople, and that of Ephesus, have still less pretensions, as Bishop Bull must have known, and as every one knows who is at all acquainted with their history. A council of gladiators held in an amphitheatre would be as venerable as that of the Constantinopolitan fathers, if Gregory Nazianzen may be believed. The testimony of this pious and learned father is very troublesome to the admirers of such assemblies, and they are willing to suppose that it was the effect of peevishness, and that old age and ill usage had soured his temper in some degree.

What would the good man have said, if he had lived to see the general council of Ephesus, which was far worse than any thing that his eyes had ever beheld? He would have wished himself at the ends of the earth, to be rid of such company, and as he was a poet, he would have made verses upon the occasion, after the manner of

Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
Arbor æstiva recreatur aura;
Quod latus mundi nebulæ malusque
Jupiter urget:
Pone sub curru nimium propinqui
Solis in terra domibus negata—

If

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If such councils made righteous decrees, it must have been by strange good-luck.

Several writers of the fourth and following centuries have indeed spoken of the Nicene fathers as of *inspired men*; but we must remember that the epithets Θεόπνευστος and Θεοφόρος, like other complimenting titles, were extremely cheap in those days.

Eusebius and several of the ancients commend the Nicene bishops in general: Sabinus bishop of Heraclea, and of the sect of the Macedonians, called them ignorant and illiterate men, in his collection of councils, which is lost, for which Socrates reprimands him, and Bishop Bull censures him with great vehemence.

In the Nicene council there were undoubtedly not a few learned, pious, and virtuous prelates, and holy confessors: and some worthy persons, though not so many in some of the subsequent general councils; but in such assemblies the best and the most moderate men seldom have the ascendant, and they are often led or driven by others who are far inferior to them in good qualities.

A general council, as we are told, will at least be secured from erring in fundamentals.

But by this way of reasoning the number of *fundamentals* will be increased beyond measure and without end, and *metaphysical terms of art* will be accounted *fundamental doctrines*, as if the very existence of Christianity could depend upon words not used by the Holy Spirit, unknown to the sacred writers, not to be found in the creeds of the three first centuries, of which different interpretations were given when they were first established and have been given ever since, and which common people most certainly do not and cannot understand;

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derstand: but they are secured, it seems, by that sort of faith without knowledge, which the church of Rome recommends, and which is called by some *Fides Carbonaria.*

At the Nicene council, Eusebius proposed a creed, in which he avoided the word ὁμούσιος, and anathematized *every impious heresy*, without specifying *any*: but his advice was not followed, ὁμούσιος was insented, and the Arian doctrines were anathematized.

Disputes, as we may well suppose, ensued amongst the bishops concerning the meaning and the consequences of the word ὁμούσιος. Eusebius assented to it, and declared in what sense he understood it. His sense of *consubstantial* was, that *the Son of God was not like created beings, but received his existence and his perfections from the Father in a different, and in an ineffable manner.* Thus he took leave to interpret for himself the ὁμούσιος; and the council seems to have given him permission so to do, or at least not to have passed any sort of censure upon him, though they understood more to be contained in that word. If that were really the case, as I think it was, Eusebius did not deceive the council.

Others give other senses to it, and the debate, says Socrates, was like a battle fought in the dark.—ἡ τῦ ὁμουσίυ λέξις τινὰς διεἰάραττε· περὶ ἣν καἰαριβόμενοι ϗ ἀκριβολογέμενοι τὸν καθ' ἀλλήλων πόλεμον ἤγειραν· νυκτομαχίας τε ὕδὲν ἀπεῖχε τὰ γινόμενα. ὕδὲ γὰ ἀλλήλυς ἐφαίνονἰο νοῦνἷες, ἀφ' ὧν ἀλλήλυς βλασφημεῖν ὑπειλάμβανον.—*vox* Consubstantialis; *quorundam animos conturbabat; quam illi diu multumque versantes, et scrupulosius examinantes, intestinum inter se bellum excitaverunt. Eaque res nocturnæ pugnæ haudquaquam dissimilis erat: neque enim utrique satis intelligere videbantur,*

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cur, cur sese invicem calumniis appetere instituissent.—i. 23. et Soz. ii. 18.

Socrates was a Consubstantialist, so far as to believe even that miracles were wrought by the monks in favour of that doctrine, and yet upon examining the epistles written on the controversy by bishops of each party, he could not help concluding that they disputed about words of which they had no ideas, and charged one another with consequences and inferences which neither side would own.

The council of Antioch, which consisted of Consubstantialists, wrote an epistle to the emperor Jovian, and explain their doctrine in the following manner: Ἀναφέρομεν τῇ σῇ εὐλαβείᾳ, ὅτι τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πάλαι πρότερον συγκροτηθείσης τὴν πίστιν ᾗ ἀποδεχόμεθα, ᾗ καλέχομεν. ὁπότε ᾗ τὸ δοκοῦν ἐν αὐτῇ τισὶ ξένον ὄνομα, τὸ τῦ Ὁμοουσίου φαμὲν, ἀσφαλῶς τετύχηκε παρὰ τοῖς πάλαι ἑρμηνείας, σημαινούσης ὅτι ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῦ πάλρὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ἐγεννήθη, ᾗ ὅτι ὅμοιος καθ' οὐσίαν τῷ Παλρί. σῦτε δὲ ὡς πάθους τινὸς περὶ τὴν ἄῤῥητον γέννησιν ἐπινοουμένυ, ὅτε κάτα τινα χρῆσιν Ἑλληνικὴν λάμβάνέλαι τὸ ὄνομα τῆς ὑσίας. εἰς ἀνατροπὴν δὲ τῦ ἐξ οὐκ ὄνλων περὶ τῦ Υἱῦ ἀσεβῶς τολμηθέντος Ἀρείῳ. *Religioni tuæ significamus, nos fidem eorum qui Nicææ olim congregati sunt, et probare et retinere. Etenim vocabulum in ea Synodo positum, quod quibusdam novum atque insolens videtur,* Consubstantialis *videlicet, id cautissimam interpretationem a Patribus accepit; ut scilicet Filius ex substantia Patris genitus, et quoad substantiam Patri similis esse intelligatur. Non quo perpessio quædam in illa inenarrabili generatione cogitetur* aut nomen substantiæ juxta Gentilium usum et consuetudinem accipiatur: *sed ut evertatur id quod Arius ausus erat asserere, Filium ex nihilo extitisse.* Apud *Sozom.* vi. 4.

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This is interpreting *obscurum per obscurius*; and if any one can tell what these Lycophrons meant by οὐσία, he must be very sagacious. All that we can learn from their epistle is, that the word οὐσία, being used by Christian divines, had lost its pagan signification, and had not acquired a new one.

Si aurem præbeamus viris, quorum alioquin auctoritatem spernere nequaquam possumus, de *Synodis* veteribus loquentibus, nobis magnifica oratione describent ἁγίας ἢ οἰκουμενικὰς ζυνόδους θεοφόρων πατέρων, συναθροισθείσας ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως, ἢ ἰσαποστόλου. *Sanctos et œcumenicos cœtus adflatorum divinitus patrum, congregatos in regno magni regis et Apostolis œquiparandi.* Quis, auditis his et similibus verbis, religioso quodam horrore et corpore et animo non contremiscat, ac paratus non sit oracula ejusmodi cœtûs avidis auribus excipere, haud aliter ac si cœlo ipso emitterentur? Verùm hæc est (quis crederet?) Abstracta Notio Synodorum, quæ in inconspicua Idearum Republica coguntur; non imago earum, quæ inter miseros mortales olim congregatæ fuere. Reges ignari (non legent hæc Mohammedani, nec Ethnici, sed ii quorum scire interest, quo fiet ut verum aperte proloquar) Reges, inquam, ignari, nec inter bonos principes numerandi, convocarunt Græculos, qui linguæ acuendæ per totam vitam operam dederant, rerum ipsarum ignaros, contendendi studiosos, perpetuis rixis inter se divisos; et bardos aliquot homines ex occidente, rudiores quidem illos, sed non meliores; iique post pudendas contentiones, obscurissima quædam dogmata, verbis sæpe parum aptis, auctoritate sua firmant; quæ stupidi populi sine examine adorent, quasi divinitus accepta. Non ficta me loqui norunt qui

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qui Synodorum historias legerunt; nec certe vanus erat Gregorius Nazianzenus, qui dixit;

Οὐδέ τί σε συνόδοισιν ὁμόθρονος ἔσσομ' ἔγωγε
Χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἄκριτα μαρναμένων.
Ἔνθ' ἔρις, ἔνθα μόθος τε, καὶ αἴσχεα κρυπτὰ πάροιθεν,
Εἰς ἕνα δυσμενέων χῶρον ἀγειρόμενα.

Nunquam ego sedebo in Synodis anserum aut gruum temere pugnantium. Illic contentio, illic rixa, et probra antea latentia sævorum hominum in unum locum collecta.

Visne aliam Notionem Abstractam? Lege quæ de *Ecclesia repræsentativa*, ut solet vocari, a plurimis olim et nuper scripta sunt; illâ nihil sanctius, nihil doctius, nihil amantius veri excogitari potest. Sed cave ne Abstractæ Notioni similem ullam in rerum natura quæras, nisi frustra esse velis. Si rem in qua reperiri oporteret, quod tantis laudibus ornatur, inspicias, delabêris forte ad opinionem Gasparis Scioppii, insignis Grammatici, qui *Ecclesiam repræsentativam* definiebat, *mandram, sive gregem, aut multitudinem jumentorum, sive asinorum;* et benigne atque amice locutum esse judicabis, quod *ferarum* non dixerit. Nec aliter de iis sensit Josephus Scaliger, cujus est hoc insigne judicium, in *Scaligeranis: Christianis orientalibus Græcis, Syris, hodie nihil pejus; et olim Episcopi Græci fuerunt nequissimi et superbissimi. Eorum Concilia fuerunt meræ conspirationes. Latina Ecclesia longe honestius se gessit, quamvis intus multa et clam pessime fecerint.* Clericus *Art. Crit.* i. p. 430.

This description of *general councils* gave offence to many persons, whose reverence for those assemblies was at least as great as Le Clerc's and Scaliger's disregard. But thus much is certain, that by paying little deference to general councils few inconveniences arise, compared with those which inevitably follow a blind

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blind and tame submission, in points of faith, to human decisions, and to *public wisdom*, as some of our controversial doctors have loved to call it, which may be *public folly*.

Public wisdom is a mere *Proteus*, and, not to consider it in Pagan or Mohammedan countries, amongst the Jews it once was the wisdom of Ahab and Jezabel, and afterwards of Annas and Caiaphas; and in Christian regions it hath appeared in an hundred shapes. It sets out with a great shew of religion: it begins with *the Gospel according to St Matthew:* and it often ends in *the Gospel according to Mr Hobbes.*

Ecclesiastical government, in some form, is absolutely necessary, without which no discipline and order can be preserved, and no religious society can well subsist, and which none can be more willing to obey than I am: Yet, *Call no man your Father upon earth; for one is your Father, who is in heaven. Neither be ye called Masters; for one is your Master, even Christ.*

Deus dedit omnibus pro virili portione sapientiam;—nec quia nos illi temporibus antecesserunt, sapientia quoque antecesserunt. Quæ si omnibus æqualiter datur, occupari ab antecedentibus non potest.—Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine ullo judicio inventa Majorum probant, et ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur, Sed hoc eos fallit, quod Majorum nomine posito, non putant fieri posse ut aut ipsi plus sapiant, quia Minores vocantur, aut illi desipuerint, quia Majores nominantur, Lactantius *Div. Inst.* ii. 7.

Valesius is a strenuous defender of the sacred authority of general councils. *Quid per spiritualem legem* [τῇ πνευματικῇ νομοθεσίᾳ] *Theodoritus intelligat, obscurum est. Ego Niccænæ Fidei Symbolum intelligi puto, quo*

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quo definitum est, Filium Patri conbstantialem esse. Decreta enim Synodorum, leges sunSpiritus Sancti. *Nota sunt verba Apostolorum quæ legntur in* Actibus, *cap.* xv. Visum est enim Spiritui Sa:to et nobis, &c. *Ad Theodor.* v. 13.

Valesius was obliged to maintain such principles, or to give up his religion: and ever Protestant who admits these principles, ought byall means to admit the conclusion, and to go ovr to the church of Rome.

The fourth general council of Chædon, A. D. 451. was also divinely inspired and infallile, as we learn from no less a voucher than *Symeon Stylite*.—διὸ κἀγὼ—ἐγνώρισα τὴν ἐμὴν προθεσιν, τὴν περὶ τὴν πίσιν τῶν ἁγιν πατέρων των ἐν Καλχηδόνι συνελημυθότων ἑξακοσίων τριάκονλα, ἑμένων ἐν ὑποστηριζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τῦ ἁγίυ Πνεύματος φερωθείσης, εἰ γὰ μέλαξὺ δύο ἢ τριῶν συνελθόντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῦ, πάρεσιν ὁ Σωτὴρ, πῶς μέλαξὺ τοσύτων ἐν τηλικούτων ἁγίων πατέρων ἐιχώρει εἰ μὴ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα; *Quaropter ego—animi mei sententiam significavi, de fide sxcentorum triginta sanctorum Patrum qui Chalcedone congregati sunt persistens et fundatus in ea fide quæ a Spiritu Sancto revelata est. Etenim si Servator noster, ubiluo tresve in nomine ipsius congregati sunt, adest in medio illorum, quomodo fieri posset inter tot et tantos sanctos Patres, ut Spiritus Sanctus cum illis non esset?*

Thus saith Symeon, *apud Evagrium* ii. 10. The honest monk talks like an inhabitantof the *middle region*, who lived upon his pillar, and knev little of what passed below. The patrons of this doctrine are able to produce a large number of Symeons, and of ancient and modern teachers, who all agree in voting for the inspiration of synods, for it is a much easier thing to find

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find *monks* than *reasons;* but the former without the latter will be of small service to them.

After all, it hath happened sometimes that one council hath contradicted another; and this creates a terrible difficulty, out of which neither Valesius nor Symeon himself can extricate us.

We have a more certain rule by which we may judge of councils, a rule given us by our Master, *By their fruits ye shall know them.* We need only survey their acts and monments, their behaviour, doctrines, decrees, and censures, and compare them impartially with the morality, the simplicity, the prudence, the charity, and the pity of the gospel. By this method we may form a tolerable idea of them, though amongst the fathers of those centuries there was no *Father Paul* to do them justice and to give us an account of their proceedings.

" *Athanasius* was made bishop, and successor to " Alexander, because whilst he was deacon he had " strenuously oppsed Arius. Philostorgius relates " many things of him not at all to his credit, which " perhaps are not more to be received than the reports " of the Homoousans concerning Arius, nor yet more " to be rejected, since prejudice and partiality were " very prevalent on both sides.

" A. D. 330. The Nicene council by its determi- " nations A. D. 325. could not appease the dissen- " tions. Great were the contests and the quarrels in " Egypt between the Arians and the Athanasians, and " the Homoousian writers so represent the affair, as " to favour the latter, and to condemn the former in " all points.

" This year a tumult was raised at Antioch on ac- " count of the controversy.

" A. D.

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" A. D. 335. Athanasius was condemned by a " council held at Tyre, for having obtained the see of " Alexandria by unjustifiable methods, and for other " and worse misdemeanours, if Philostorgius may be " credited, ii. 11. This historian, though a favourer " of the Arian cause, yet freely censures Arius where " he thought him reprehensible, and therefore might " be a fair relater of other points.

" In the following year Athanasius was accused a- " gain by the same bishops who had condemned him " at Tyre, and who were now assembled at Constan- " tinople, and the emperor Constantine banished him " into Gaul.

" About this time died Arius, by a wonderful " judgment of God, as his adversaries afterwards said. " But quarrels ran so high in those days, that there " is no confiding in the reports of either party.

" A. D. 341. Athanasius, who had been honour- " ably recalled from banishment by Constantine the " younger, was condemned and deposed by the coun- " cil of Antioch *, consisting of about an hundred " bishops, of whom a third part were Arians, and " Gregory of Cappadocia † was put in his place.

" Julius, bishop of Rome, called a council, and ac- " quitted Athanasius, and condemned the council of " Antioch.

" Athanasius then returned to Alexandria.

" Macedonius was appointed bishop of Constanti- " nople, and Hermogenus the præfect endeavoured " to put him in possession, and to drive out Paul; " but Hermogenes was murdered by the Athanasian " populace,

* See the remarks of Pagi, in Socrates, p. 84, not. a.

† Who came in like a tyrant, and committed many outrages.

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" populace, who wanted to have Paul for their bi-
" shop.

" The Arians, in their council at Antioch, had
" made a creed, and left out the ὁμούσιος. After this
" they proposed a new confession of faith, which was
" said to have been the creed of Lucian * the martyr,
" who was of the same sentiments which were after-
" wards held by Arius, as Alexander of Alexandria
" and Philostorgius testify.

" In this creed, the Arians, avoiding the word *con-*
" *substantial*, call the Son ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον τῆς
" θεότητος, οὐσίας τε καὶ βουλῆς καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης ἀπαράλλακτον
" εἰκόνα, καὶ πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως. *Immutabilem et con-*
" *versioni non obnoxium ad divinitatem quod attinet, es-*
" *sentiæ vero, consilii, et potentiæ Patris immutabilem*
" *imaginem, primogenitum omnis creaturæ.*

" Valesius translates ἀπαράλλακτον, *nullatenus discre-*
" *pantem;* but though the word is often to be found
" in that sense, it signifies also *immutabilem.* This
" induces me to think that they had a mind to draw
" up a creed in expressions which might be approved
" by both parties †, an expedient often practised in
" this controversy.

" A. D. 347. Constans called a council at Sardica.
" Three hundred and seventy bishops were assembled,
" and most of them being Homoousians, Athanasius
" was

* Lucian was highly honoured by the Arians; and some of the most celebrated bishops of that party, as Eusebius of Nicomedia, Maris, Theognis, Leontius, &c. are said to have been his disciples. Philostorgius relates, that the body of this martyr was brought to Nicomedia by a dolphin, the very dolphin, I suppose, who carried Arion upon his back, and who had the same affection for saints as for musicians.

† This Confession of Faith is Catholic, says Du Pin, although the word *consubstantial* be not in it. B. E. ii. p. 325.

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" was acquitted. But the Arian prelates withdraw-
" ing themselves, met at Philippi, and there made
" contrary decrees, which also were called Sardicen-
" sian. Nor would Athanasius have been recalled to
" Alexandria, if Constantius, moved by the threat-
" ening letter of his brother Constance, and for the
" sake of peace, had not given his consent to it, two
" years after the council of Sardica.

" A. D. 350. * A council was held at Sirmium, in
" which Photinus was condemned. The bishops who
" met there were almost all of them Arians †, yet
" were their canons received like those of other coun-
" cils.

" A. D. 357. Many Homoousians were banished,
" and amongst them Liberius bishop of Rome, and
" other bishops. Liberius after having remained two
" years in banishment, subscribed to the condemna-
" tion of Athanasius, and published a confession of
" faith, in which, leaving out the word ὁμοούσιος, he de-
" clared the Son to be like the Father in all things.

" At this time the Arians began to be distinguish-
" ed and divided. Part of them were Homoiousians,
" and part Anomœans. The first said that the Son
" was altogether ὁμοιούσιος, of like substance with the
" Father; the second, that he was ἀνόμοιος, unlike, or
" different, or unequal. Such was the difference be-
" tween the Arians, if we may trust to the accounts
" of ancient writers.

" In the council of Ancyra, the Anomœans were
" condemned, and it was decreed that two councils
" should be called; one for the eastern churches at
" Seleucia; another for the western at Ariminum.

" A. D.

* A. D. 351. Cave. See Socr. ii. 29. and the notes.

† Cave says, *Semiarians.*

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" A. D. 359. At Seleucia the Homoiousians and " the Anomœans contended; the latter were over- " powered.

" Four hundred bishops were assembled at Arimi- " num, of whom about a fourth part were Arians, " where, after much wrangling and many delays, " most of them subscribed to a creed, in which it was " only said, that the Son of God was not a creature " like other creatures.

" A. D. 360. Macedonius, who was driven away " from Constantinople, is said to have published his " notions concerning the Holy Ghost. With the " rest of the Arians he denied the consubstantiability " of the Son, and only said that he was like the Fa- " ther; but he positively affirmed that the Holy " Ghost was κτίσμα, *created*. His successor was Eu- " doxius, an Anomœan, who had been bishop of " Antioch, on whose removal, great dissentions arose " at Antioch. Some followed Eustathius who had " been deposed in the year 330. Others joined them- " selves to Meletius, who had been ordained by the " favourers of Eudoxius, and who had deserted A- " rianism, whilst a third party, who were Arians, " shunned them both, and had Euzoius for their bi- " shop.

" A. D. 363. The Arians, the Semiarians, (so " they called the Homoiousians) and the Consubstan- " tialists were quarrelling and contending every " where, particularly in the eastern parts and " the Emperor Valens favoured and supported the " Arians.

" Gregory and Basil, who had led a monastic life, " left their retirement, to oppose the progress of A- " rianism." *Le Clerc*, Compend. Hist.

A. D. 364.

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A. D. 364. Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, a man much esteemed for learning and piety gave rise to a new sect. He thought, perhaps that Christ being *one*, it was impossible that *two persons* could be so united in him as to make *one person*. Thence (as some say) he concluded that in Christ the Λόγος supplied the place of an human soul. It is to be supposed that the Arians either were of the same opinion, or came into it and adopted it. Theodoret says, *Simon, Basilides, Valentinus, Bardesanes*, &c. *acknowleged Jesus Christ to be God, but said that he was only man in appearance; the Arians held that the* word *in Christ supplied the place of a soul. Apollinar taught that the* word *was united to a living body**, *but a body not animated with a reasonable soul: Photinus, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Paul of Samosata, said that Christ was a mere man.* Epist. 104.

This may suffice for a summary account of the Athanasian and Arian controversy, during the first forty years.

The Pagans, who were by-standers in the times when this controversy was so warmly agitated, could not be much edified, or much disposed to embrace Christianity, when they saw its professors at such implacable variance. This made Ammianus Marcellinus say, that no wild beast was so cruel an enemy to man as most of the Christians were to each other. Julian, says he, knew their quarrelsome temper, *nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum, expertus.* xxii.

The Alexandrians, a people naturally satirists†, jesters, and buffoons, and the most quarrelsome and seditious

* Σῶμα ἔμψυχον. Corpus præditum animâ sensitivâ.

† The Romans were fond of purchasing Alexandrian boys for

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seditious of all mankind, those I mean who were Pagans, were higly entertained with these debates, and made them the sbject of constant ridicule and drollery in their theatres *Euseb.* Vit. Const. ii. 61. They were doubtless of the same opinion with Shaftsbury and his facetiou disciples, that *ridicule is the only test of truth.*

For an instare of their national temper and turn of mind, when kig Agrippa came to Alexandria, A. D. 38. the Aleandrians, who hated him because he was a Jew, and envied him because he was a king, contrived to seup a rival against him. They took a poor mad-mar who used to run naked about the streets, and hug a mat over his shoulders by way of robe, and put paper diadem on his head, and a cane in his hand. When they had thus equipped him, they set him up on a bench in the most conspicuous place in the city; some with sticks on their shoulders stood round him as his guards, others knelt down before him, bringing informations or complaints, or begging favours whilst all the populace shouted, and called him Royal Naster. *Philo* in Flacc. p. 970. Ed. Par.

Elias Cretensis, in his Commentaries on Gregory Naz. p. 316. says, that the Alexandrians *Ethnicum quendam hominem insigniter impudicum, veste detracta, pudendisque nudatis, in Antistitis solio collocarunt, tanquam si Antistes aliquis foret. Ille vero Doctoris larvam præ se ferens, in religionem Christianam invehebatur,*

slaves, because they were spritely, witty, and extremely impudent. See Statius *Silv.* ii. i. 72. and v. v. 66. and the Commentators.

The poet Claudian was an Alexandrian, and his works are generally either panegyrics or satires: but he shines most in the latter, as appears from his two books against Eutropius.

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tur, comico eam risu exsibilans, et contrariam ei doctrinam proponens.

He took this from Theodoret: *Quendam ex suo numero notissimæ turpitudinis, qui una cum veste pudorem simul exuerat, nudum sicut natus erat, in Ecclesiæ solio collocantes, Concionatorem infamem adversus Christum salutarunt. Nam divinorum verborum loco, turpitudinem proferebat: pro gravibus verbis petulantiam; pro pietate impietatem; pro continentia scortationem, adulterium, masculam venerem, furtum, escam et potum vitæ hominum utilia esse docens.* E. H. iv. 22.

But, to leave the profane scurrilities of the Alexandrians, and to return to what is serious, and very serious, let us hear the judgment of Erasmus: *Quid cogitabunt (a fide Christiana alieni) si viderint rem usque adeo difficilem esse, ut nunquam satis discussum sit quibus verbis de Christo sit loquendum? perinde quasi cum moroso quopiam agas Dæmone, quem in tuam ipsius perniciem evocaris, si quid te fefellerit in verbis præscriptis, ac non potius cum clementissimo Servatore, qui a nobis præter puram simplicemque vitam nihil exigit.* Epist. 329.

For these and such remarks, Erasmus was frequently accused of Arianism by his enemies. *Erasmus*, as Le Clerc observes, *Arianismi ab illius ævi Monachis, aliisque non melioribus insimulatus est; quasi nimio fuisset ingenio, quam ut orthodoxus esse posset.*

Scripture, say the Protestants, is the only rule of faith in matters pertaining to revealed religion, and they say well. There is no other Christianity than this; no other test of doctrines than this; no other center of union than this. Whatsoever is not *clearly* delivered there, may be *true*, but cannot be *important*: HÆC MEA EST SENTENTIA, NEQVE ME EX EA VLLIVS VNQVAM AVT DOCTI AVT INDOCTI MOVEBIT ORATIO.

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If when the quarrel between Alexander and Arius was grown to such an height as to want a remedy, the fathers of the church had, for the sake of peace, agreed to draw up a confession * of faith in words of scripture, and to establish the divinity of Christ in the expressions used by the apostles, every one might have assented to it, and the Arian party would most certainly have received it. The difference of sentiments indeed and of interpretation would not have ceased, but the controversy would have cooled and dwindled away, after every champion had discharged his zeal upon paper, and had written to his heart's content. The Arian notion, that *the Son was created in time*, and that *there was a time when he existed not*, would probably have sunk, as not being the language of the New Testament; and the Macedonian notion, that the Holy Ghost *was created in time*, would have sunk with the other, for the same reason; at least, these opinions would never have been obtruded upon us, as articles of faith.

One remarkable difference may be observed between the creeds which were proposed upon this occasion. The consubstantialists drew up their creed with a view to exclude and distress the Arians: † the Arians had no design to distress the Consubstantialists, but usually

* It had been better to have dropped and dismissed the question, but perhaps this was impracticable, *in tantis animorum incendiis*.

† Auctor ipsorum Eusebius Nicomediensis Epistolâ suâ prodidit dicens: *Si verum*, inquit, *Dei Filium et increatum dicimus, homoousion cum Patre incipimus confiteri*. Hæc cum lecta esset Epistola in Concilio Nicæno, hoc verbum in Tractatu Fidei posuerunt Patres, quod viderunt Adversariis esse formidini, ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio ipsorum nefandæ caput Hæreseos amputarent. *Ambrosius* de Fid. ad Grat. L. iii. 7.

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usually proposed creeds, to which Athanasius himself might have assented; so that if the compilers were Arians, their creeds were not Arian.

The Semiarians agreed with the Arians in rejecting the word ὁμοούσιος, but differed from them in carrying the perfections and the dignity of the Son higher than the Arians did, and in affirming that he was ὁμοιούσιος, of *like* substance, and *like* to his father in all things.

If Christ be God the Word, who had glory with the Father before the world was, who was in the beginning, who was before all things, by whom all things were made, &c. the *coeternity* of the Λόγος with the Father appears to be a natural and unforced consequence.

The author of the epistle to the Hebrews seems to have been of this opinion: he uses a typical argument from the cxth *Psalm*, and draws a parallel between Melchisedec and Christ, intending perhaps to intimate that what Melchisedec was figuratively or typically, that Christ was really and truly. Now Melchisedec *had neither beginning of days nor end of life*, nothing being recorded in sacred writ concerning his birth or his death: consequently the Son of God hath in reality *neither beginning of days, nor end of life*.

Dr Clarke judged it more reasonable to admit, than to reject, the eternity of the Son. "It cannot be "denied," (says this excellent writer) that the terms "Son and Beget, do most properly and necessarily "imply *an act of the Father's will*. For whatsoever "any person is supposed to do, not by *his power and* "*will*, but by *mere* necessity of nature, it is not in- "deed *He* that *does* it at all, in any true propriety

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" of speech, but *necessity* only. Nor can it intel-
" ligibly be made out, upon what is founded the
" *authority* of the Father in the *mission* of the Son, if
" not upon the Son's thus deriving his being from
" the Father's incomprehensible power and will.
" However, since the attributes and powers of God
" are evidently as *eternal* as his being, and there ne-
" ver was any time wherein God could not *will* what
" he pleased, and *do* what he *willed*, and since it is
" just as easy to conceive God *always acting* as *always*
" *existing*, and *operating* before all ages, as easily as
" *decreeing* before all ages, it will not at all follow,
" that That which is an effect of his *will* and *power*,
" must *for that reason* necessarily be limited to any
" definite time. Wherefore not only those ancient
" writers who were esteemed *Semiarians*, but also
" the learnedest of the fathers of the *contrary* side,
" even they who carried up the generation of the
" Son the highest of all, did still nevertheless expressly
" assert it to be an act of the Father's *power* and *will*—
" The notion of the *eternity* of the Son is not in-
" deed clearly revealed in Scripture; but it seems
" most probable that God (ὁ Παντοκράτωρ) did *always*
" exercise, in some manner or other, his *Eternal*
" *Power* and *Will*—
" Almost all the old philosophers, who held the
" *eternity* of the world, did not thereby mean that it
" was *self-existent*, &c."

See Clarke's *Second Reply to W.* Obs. vii.

Le Clerc, who often declared a dislike, both of the Arian and of the Consubstantial system, * thus delivers his opinion of Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine*, &c.

" Dr

* Le Clerc hath observed, that Christians, forsaking the notions of the Consubstantialists and of the Arians, had come by degrees to

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" Dr Clarke's doctrine seems to be the same with " that of the Nicene council, excepting that he uses " not the word *consubstantial*. It is not therefore to " be wondered that he should have produced so ma- " ny passages from the ancient fathers in favour of " his hypothesis. They who pretend that the Nicene " council should be the rule of our faith, ought by " no means to censure Dr Clarke, if they under- " stand what that council meant." *Bibl. Chios.* xxvi. 419.

It is affirmed by some learned writers in this controversy, that *eternal generation*, or *derivation*, implies a *manifest contradiction*. This was also the notion of Arius, who concluded, that because the Son received his existence from the Father, therefore there must have been a time when he was not. They who say so, are obliged, by unavoidable consequence, to maintain this most unphilosophical assertion, That the Father and First Cause, who hath been what he is, supremely wise, good, and powerful, from all eternity, yet could not act, and exert his wisdom, goodness, and power from all eternity. But this is what they can never prove: and the contrary opinion, namely, the eternal agency of the Almighty, is far more reasonable

a right way of thinking concerning the *unity* of God, namely, that God is *one* in the strictest sense of one simple, numerical, individual essence, and that the Son and the Holy Ghost are not beings, or essences, or substances, but *modifications*, *manieres de'être*, of the divine essence or substance.

The doctrine of a *modal*, *nominal*, *ideal* Trinity terminates unavoidably in the doctrine of *one* divine *person* variously manifesting himself. Whether Le Clerc saw and admitted this consequence, I cannot say. He seems to have fluctuated on this matter. See his *Life of Eusebius*.

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sonable, and is attended with no other difficulties than those which equally attend a *past eternity*.

The eternal generation of the Word *is not found in Scripture, nor is he called the* Son *of God upon any account antecedent to the incarnation.* So says Dr Bennet, and so say some other writers on both sides of the controversy. Yet there are expressions in the New Testament, from which, I think, it may be collected that our Saviour was Son of God before his earthly nativity. But (howsoever that be) since there is one God and *Father*, and *First Cause* of all, the difference between *Son* of God, and *Word* of God is to us nominal and imperceptible, and both certainly imply a *derivation*.

St John, says that all things were made by the *Word*, St Paul says that God made all things by his *Son*; whence it appears that the *Word*, and the *Son*, are one and the same person, receiving his existence from one and the same Father.

One of the texts on which the ancients founded the generation of the *Son* before his incarnation, is in *Psalm* cx. 3. according to the LXX. *Before the morning star I begat thee*: a text which certainly is full to the purpose, if we admit this ancient translation of it to be right, and our present Hebrew text to want emendation.

To settle the controversial bounds between the Arians, the Semiarians, and the Athanasians or Consubstantialists of those days, and to determine how far they agreed, and how far they differed, and how far they were or were not consistent with themselves, is, if not an impossibility, yet certainly a very difficult task. They were not to be blamed for their inquiries about this subject; their disputes with Jews and Pagans

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gans must have unavoidably led them into it: but they should not have reviled and persecuted one another, or required an assent, under pain of excommunication, banishment, infamy, and beggary, to expressions not used by sacred writers. Is this the reverence and respect which ought to be paid to the Holy Scriptures?

Our Saviour is represented as submitting to sufferings and to death for our sakes, and then exalted by his Father to the highest glory and dominion; and because in a submission to transient sufferings so amply rewarded, there might seem to be no great example of compassion and condescension, and of that *love which passeth knowledge*, therefore the writers of the New Testament have given us some account of his antecedent condition, and inform us that he who was *rich* became *poor* for our sakes, and quitted a state of splendor and happiness, and *humbled* and *emptied himself*, ἐκένωσε ϗ ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, when he became man. This leads us directly to inquire into the dignity of his nature, concerning which, after all our enquiries, we can know no more than the Holy Scriptures have told us; and from those passages it seems (to me at least) to be a fair inference, that *the Son possessed from all eternity all that the infinite love and infinite power and infinite wisdom of the Father could communicate.*

But here it will be asked perhaps, What was the doctrine of the Nicene fathers? and what did they mean by *Consubstantiality?*

It is impossible to answer this question without using *logical* and *methaphysical* terms.

By the word ὁμοούσιος, they meant, not *of the same* numerical or individual *substance*, but *of the same* * generical

* That ὁμοούσιος means *of one substance in kind*, hath been shewed

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rical *substance* or *subsistence*. As amongst men, a son is ὁμούσιος with his father, that is, *of the same human nature*; so, in their opinion * the Son of God is ὁμούσιος with the Father, that is, *of the same divine nature*.

By this word, therefore, they intended to express *the same kind of nature*, and so far a *natural equality*.

But according to them, this *natural equality* excluded not *a relative inequality*; a *majority* and *minority*, founded upon the everlasting difference between *giving* and *receiving*, *causing* and being *caused*.

They had no notion of distinguishing between *person* and *being*, between *an intelligent agent*, and *an intelligent active substance*, *subsistence*, or *entity*.

When they said that the Father was *God*, they meant that he was God *of himself*, *originally*, and *underived*, Θιὸς ἀγέννητος, and ὁ Θιός.

When they said that the Son was *God*, they meant that he was God by *generation* or *derivation*, Θιὸς γεννητός.

The *Unity* of God they maintained, and they defended it, first, by considering the Father as the First Cause, the only underived and self-existing; secondly, by supposing an intimate, inseparable, and incomprehensible

by Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, Le Clerc, &c. and to prove it would be *actum agere*.

* Ὁμούσιος τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ὁμούσιος ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. *Of one substance with the Father, as to his divinity; and of one substance with us, as to his humanity.* Concil. Chalcedonense. So say the writers of the fifth century who were called orthodox: but they who speak thus, must have understood by ὁμούσιος, *of one substance in kind*, if we suppose them to have had any ideas affixed to their words, and to have been consistent with themselves, which is more indeed than I would affirm.

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prehensible union, connection, indwelling, and co-existence, by which the Father was in the Son, and the Son in the Father; and, thirdly, by saying that in the Father and the Son there was an unity of will, design, and consent, and one divine power and dominion, originally in the Father, and derivatively in the Son.

Such seems to have been their system, and my design is, barely to represent it, and to do it justice.

In process of time Christians went into a notion that the Son was ταυτοούσιος and μονοούσιος, *of the same* individual *substance with the Father, and with the Holy Spirit;* and they seem to have done this, with a view to secure the doctrine of the *unity*.

The school-men took up the subject, and treated it in their way, which they called *explaining*, and which men of sense call *impenetrable jargon*.

Of all the modern writers upon this controversy, they who have undertaken to prove the doctrine of the Trinity by *Cabbalism* have *talked* in the most singular manner; though, I doubt not, with very honest and upright intentions.

A notable specimen of this way of *talking* is produced in *Clarke's Letter to Wells*. The author, whosoever he was, informs us, that *Job* xii. 12. *with the ancient is wisdom*, means *With the Father and the Son is the Holy Spirit;* that the *maid* in *Job* xxxi. 1, 2. is the *Virgin Mary;* that Christ *sent himself*, and consequently *prayed* and *returned thanks to himself, interceded with himself*, &c. that *whilst he was upon earth the kingdom of heaven was held in commission, and managed by the angels*, &c. &c. He should have added to all his proofs the *spurious* text in 1 *John* v. 7. *There are three that bear record*, &c.

One

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One Meyer wrote a book, *De Mysterio S. S. Trinitatis ex solius Veteris Testamenti Libris demonstrato.* The text which he urges as the most clear and conclusive of all, is *Deut.* vi. 4. *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord:* in which he is not at all singular, many of his cabbalistic brethren having made the same remark on the same text.

Rabbi Judah hath preserved a tradition, that the ancient Jews in their Liturgy, used this form of prayer, I *and* HE, *save, I pray:* and this *Galimatias* is a mystical representation of the Trinity, according to some persons who were learned men, but too much addicted to Rabbinism. See Jac. Alting *Gram. Hebr.* Exerc. iii. and Vitringa in *Jesai.* xliii. p. 469.

The famous Postellus observed, that there were *eleven thousand* proofs of the Trinity in the Old Testament, interpreted rightly, that is, ἐτυμολογικομυστικοκαββαλιστικῶς.

" Your friend (says Clarke to Nelson) being a sincere and sober-minded man, has entered only a little way into these traditionary explications of " Scripture; but those who have gone far into them, " have given such visionary and cabbalistical interpretations, especially of the Old Testament, as give " too sad occasion for infidels to look upon all religion as enthusiasm, and particularly have caused " the study of the Hebrew language, which of itself " is a plain, easy, inartificial language, to be brought " by men of weak judgment abusing it, into the utmost contempt."

Abbadie, a man of vivacity and of a warm imagination, wrote two treatises: in the one he proved with much spirit and elegance the truth of natural and revealed

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vealed religion, in the other he defended the divinity of Christ; but how? By laying down his own notion of it, and then arguing that if it was not true, our Saviour was what is too shocking to be named or thought of*, and what no Mahometan would call him.

Few controversies have been carried on with less temper and with less prudence than this.

Before the fourth century was ended, the Consubstantialists differed and disputed amongst themselves, whether in the Trinity there were three *hypostases*, or one *hypostasis*: part of them hold the first, and part the second opinion; and it hath been supposed by some, that they had notions directly contrary to each other: but the truth is, that they only misunderstood one another, and were in reality of the same mind.

For the word ὑπόστασις was ambiguous, and had two senses. In the first sense, *hypostasis* is *the existence of a thing*, or *the manner in which it exists*; in the second sense it is *the existing thing*, or *the substance itself*.

Three human souls have only one *hypostasis*, in the first sense, that is, one and the same kind of nature, consisting of intelligence, activity, &c. but in the second sense they are three *hypostases*, that is, three intelligent active beings.

The Consubstantialists who said, that in the Trinity there was one *hypostasis*, took the word in the first sense, and their brethren who said there were three *hypostases*, took the word in the second sense; and thus the dispute was verbal, and as soon as they came

* This odious indiscretion hath been frequent amongst disputers of more zeal than judgment.

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came to understand one another, they were reconciled.

In the fourth century, the Consubstantialists began the persecution, by excommunicating and banishing their adversaries.

After the death of Constantine, Constantius persecuted the Consubstantialists; and the Arians under his protection (as afterwards under Valens) were guilty of many horrible outrages and cruelties, which must have hurt their cause greatly, and have made honest men hold them in abomination.

Julian gave liberty to all the contenders to fight it out in disputation, and recalled those whom Constantius had banished.

Jovian favoured the Consubstantialists during his short reign.

Valentinian, like a wise prince, kept an even hand between both parties, and would not be the tool of either.

Valens at the same time persecuted the Consubstantialists in his dominions.

Gratian and Theodosius oppressed the Arians.

The Arians were also divided into sects which anathematized and plagued each other. But Arianism subsisted, and made a considerable figure for above three hundred years, and was at last destroyed by violence and persecution. See Bayle's *Dict.* ARIUS.

In the fourth century were held thirteen councils against Arius, fifteen for him, and seventeen for the Semiarians, in all, forty-five.

How could the Arians, in the time of Constantius and Valens, bring themselves to such an unchristian persecuting temper? how could they oppress their fellow Christians the Consubstantialists, who, supposing

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ing them to have been in an error, fell into it through a religious fear of ascribing too little to their Redeemer, and of not paying him sufficient honour? Can a man love his Saviour, and hate his brother for a mistake of this kind?

And how could the Consubstantialists persuade themselves that an Arian, who perhaps had suffered for professing Christianity in times of distress, who believed Christ to be his Maker, his Saviour, his King, and his Judge, would *chuse* to detract from his dignity, and to offend him in whom he placed all his hopes of salvation? Human nature is not capable of this folly, and if the man was in an error, yet in such a person the error must have been involuntary, a mere defect of the understanding, and not a fault of the will.

A Christian, and a lover of peace, who lived in obscurity, and whose name I cannot tell, stood up, and said;

"My brethren, The things to be believed are few, "the things to be done are many; but you behave "yourselves, as if the reverse of this were true. St "Paul tells you, *The Grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that "denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live "soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, "looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearance of the great God, and (of) our Saviour Jesus "Christ.* Concerning the nature of *Jesus* you can "dispute incessantly, and concerning the word *Grace* "you will probably dispute no less; but the rest of "the sentence you disregard as of small consequence "or importance. What, I beseech you, must the "Jews and the Pagans conceive of you and of your "religion?

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" religion? And what do the holy angels think, who " look down upon your contentions? Those blessed " and compassionate spirits pity you, and think you " mere children. But when from contending you " proceed to beating your fellow-servants, to perse- " cuting and destroying, they consider you as most " malicious and wicked children; their pity is " changed into indignation, and they would strike " you dead, if the Supreme Governor did not stay " their hand, and remind them that such disorders " must needs arise, and shall one day be rectified."

So said this *unknown;* but behold the consequence! The Consubstantialists called him an Arian, and the Arians called him a Consubstantialist.

The Nicene fathers having anathematised the Arians, the emperor seconded them, and banished Arius and the bishops who sided with him, and ordered the books of Arius to be burnt, and added;—*If any man be found to have concealed a copy of those books, and not to have instantly produced it and thrown it into the fire, he shall be put to death. The Lord be with you all.* Socrat. i. p. 32.

Constantine's conduct was variable afterwards; for he certainly understood not this perplexed and obscure, controversy and he acted as he was influenced at different times by the ecclesiastics of each party, who accused one another not only of heterodoxy, but of being enemies to the emperor, and of other faults and misdemeanours.

The creed of Arius, which he delivered to Constantine, and upon which the emperor ordered him to be recalled and restored, is thus:

" We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, " and in our Lord Jesus Christ his Son, begotten of " him

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" him before all ages, God the Word, by whom all " things were made in heaven and in earth, who de- " scended and was incarnate, suffered, arose, and " ascended into heaven, and will come again to judge " the living and the dead. We believe in the Holy " Ghost, the resurrection of the flesh, the life to come, " and the kingdom of heaven, and in one Catholic " Church of God dispersed over all the earth.

" This faith we have received from the holy gospels, " in which the Lord says to his disciples, Go and " teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the " Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. If " we do not believe these things, and truly acknow- " ledge the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as " the whole Catholic Church, and the Scriptures " teach, to which we yield an assent in all things, " God is our judge both now and at the day of judg- " ment," *&c. Socr.* i. 26. *Soz.* ii. 27.

Arius died suddenly, A. D. 336. upon which the opinions were various.

Some ascribed it to a violent distemper:

Others to his excess of joy, at finding his affairs in a good situation:

Others called it a judgment:

Lastly, the Arians said that his adversaries had killed him by some wicked arts, γοητείαις; and surely it is not impossible that amongst his numerous enemies there might be one who would not scruple to give him a dose, and to send him out of the way.

Athanasius, as we may suppose, accounted it an unquestionable miracle, and a divine judgment upon him for perjury, and uses the same words in which the Scriptures describe the death of Judas. Ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐξελθὼν, ὥσπερ δίκην δοὺς κατέπεσε· καὶ σχισθεὶς γενόμενος, ἐλάκησε μέσος.

Verum

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Verum illico egressus, tanquam pœnas luens, corruit; et pronus jacens crepuit medius. Apud *Sozom.* ii. 30.

George Valla, a professor of humanity, died in the same manner as was reported of Arius: *Dum corpori vacaturus excrementa cibi dejecit, animam etiam morte subitaria exhalavit.* Such accidents befal one as well as another. See Bayle's Reflections upon it, Dict. VALLA.

It is thought by Valesius that the Arius, who was reconciled to the church at the council of Jerusalem in 335, was not the more celebrated Arius, but another ecclesiastic of the same name, and of the same party; but this opinion was pretty generally rejected. See the notes on *Socr.* i. 33. and *Soz.* ii. 30. and Bayle Dict. ARIUS E.

" Alexander, bishop of Constantinople refused to " receive Arius to communion, though the emperor " had ordered him to do it, and though the Arian " bishops were determined to conduct Arius to church " in spite of Alexander. In this extremity, not " knowing how to act a consistent part, and to pro- " ceed as he had begun, he shut himself up, as his- " tory says, in the church, and there prayed most " devoutly to God, not that he himself might be in- " structed what he should think of these things, and " how he should act, or that Arius might be converted " from his errors, but his prayer was, *that if the opi-* " *nions of Arius were true, he himself might not live to* " *see the day when they were to be discussed; and that if* " *he himself was orthodox, Arius, who had been the cause* " *of so many evils, might be punished for his impiety.* A " prayer which had so little charity in it, and by " which it appeared that the prelate was more solici- " tous for his own honour than for the truth, was " however

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" however successful, and Arius died, either on that " day or on the day following." *Le Clerc*, Bibl. Univ. x. 474.

But perhaps the story was made by the Athanasians after the event, and the bishop did not pray in this strange manner.

Nothing had been decreed by the Nicene council concerning the nature of the Holy Ghost, and no controversy was raised on that subject, till Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, taught that the Holy Ghost was *a creature*. They who afterwards held that notion were called Macedonians, or Marathonians, from one Marathonius bishop of Nicomedia. The Arians were probably of the same opinion.

The Semiarians assembled a council at Seleucia, and drew up a creed, in these words:

" We acknowledge and believe in one God, the " Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of " things visible and invisible: We believe also in " our Lord Jesus Christ, his Son, begotten of him * " *without passion* before all ages, God the word, the " only begotten of God, *(who is)* light, life, truth, " and wisdom, by whom all things were made, in " heaven and upon earth, visible and invisible. We " believe that in the end of ages, to abolish sin, he " assumed flesh of the holy Virgin Mary, and be- " came man, and suffered for our offences, and rose " again, and was taken up into heaven, and sitteth at " the right hand of the Father, and shall come again " with glory to judge the living and the dead. We " believe also in the Holy Ghost, which our Lord and

* ἀπαθῶς.

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" Saviour called a * *Paraclete*, and promised to send, " and did send to his disciples after his departure, by " which also he sanctifies all those in the church who " believe, and are baptized in the name of the Father, " and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." *Socr.* ii. 40.

Socrates, who was a candid man, seems to approve of this creed, and says, *Ego vero affirmo, si ab initio de Niccena fide ita sensissent tum ii qui ante istos vixerant, tum qui illos subsecuti sunt, cessaturam fuisse questionem omnem et contentionem, nec violentum et rationis expertem tumultum in Ecclesia fuisse valiturum. Sed quemadmodum ista se habeant, prudentioribus judicandum reliquo.*

The Nicene creed:

" We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, " maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one " Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten *and* only-" begotten of the Father; that is, † of the substance of " the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God " of very God, begotten, not made, consubstantial " with the Father, by whom all things were made " both in heaven and in earth; who for us men and " for our salvation descended and was incarnate, and " was made man, suffered, and rose again the third " day, ascended into the heavens, and will come to " judge the living and the dead. *(We believe)* also " in the Holy Ghost.

" The holy catholic and apostolic church anathe-" matizes those who say that there was a time when " the Son of God was not, and that before he was be-" gotten

* *Comforter*, or, *Advocate*.

† *of*, or *from*, or *out of* the substance of the Father: ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός.

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"gotten he was not, and that he was made out of no-
"thing, or out of another substance or essence, and
"is created, or changeable, or alterable." *Apud* Socr. i. 8.

Such was the Nicene creed, as it stood originally, and before it was interpolated by subsequent councils. Our church hath dropped the anathematizing clauses at the end, and one cannot help wishing that the Nicene fathers had done the same. The Christians in times following were perpetually making anathematisms, even upon the slightest and poorest occasions, and it is really a wonder that they did not at last insert in their litanies, *We beseech thee to curse and confound the Pelagians, Semi-pelagians, Nestorians, Eutychians, Monothelites, Jacobites, Iconoclasts, and all heretics and schismatics.*

About the time of Constantine, Christian festivals and holy-days began to take place of pagan solemnities.

The council of Arles was held A. D. 314, on account of the Donatists. The tenth canon of this council exhorts men, whose wives had been convicted of adultery, not to marry again till the adulteress were dead. An unreasonable request.

When Constantine was about to make war with Licinius, there was a wonderful apparition, says Eusebius; several regiments of Constantine's soldiers were seen at noon day marching, as victorious, through the cities belonging to Licinius. Eusebius however had the discretion to introduce the story with a φασὶ, *they say*, and took care by so doing to affirm nothing that was not true; for without question there were people enough who said so. *Vit. Const.* ii. 6.

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But in his life of Constantine, he is to be considered as an orator and a panegyrist, rather than as an historian.

Nazarius, who was a Pagan, in his panegyric of Constantine, mentions such a miracle of an army descending from heaven to assist that prince against Maxentius. *In ore denique est omnium Galliarum, exercitus visos; qui se divinitus missos præ se ferebant—Illi cœlo lapsi; illi divinitus missi gloriabantur quod tibi militabant.*

In ore est omnium Galliarum, quoth he. These *Gauls* were what the French call *des Temoins Normans, Norman witnesses*.

It is strange, says Le Clerc, that no Christian author hath mentioned these angels, whom God sent to assist Constantine, and that Nazarius, who speaks of this miracle, says nothing of that of the cross. *Bibl. Chois.* iii. 352.

Constantine transferred the seat of empire to Byzantium, which he embellished, enlarged, and made equal to ancient Rome, and to which he gave his own name; by which he certainly disobliged the Roman senate and people. This change contributed to weaken the western part of the empire, and to bring on its dissolution. But whether it were prudent or no, politically considered, it seems to have been of no moral import; virtue and religion and liberty neither gained nor lost by it: nor in all probability could the Roman empire have continued entire upon the foot that it was in the time of Constantine, though Rome had remained the unrivalled city, and the usual place of the emperor's residence.

Constantine

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Constantine had a divine revelation to build Constantinople, says Sozomen, and the emperor himself* affirmed the same in one of his laws; and according to Philostorgius, he declared that he was guided by an heavenly vision in tracing the extent of the new city. In this city no Pagan temples, rites, and ceremonies were permitted, say Eusebius, Sozomen, and Orosius: Zosimus says the contrary. Thus much is certain, that Christianity prevailed far more there than at Rome. *Soz.* ii. 3.

When Constantine went to war, he carried with him a tent, in form of a chapel, where he prayed to God, and had presbyters and deacons to perform divine service; and thence began the custom in the Roman army for each legion to have a chaplain. *Sozom.* i. 8.

As he was on many occasions generous and liberal, and did so much for the church, and gave so much to Ecclesiastics, *Soz.* i. 8. he might have extended his favours also to men of letters, but it appears not that he signalized himself that way. In his reign, and in the fourth century, as religious and metaphysical quarrels ran high, and monkery grew and prospered, and miracles abounded, so liberal arts and sciences and polite literature fell into a declining condition.

He seems to have been possessed with the *building spirit*, and spent immense sums upon houses, palaces, and † churches, and particularly upon Constantinople.

 This,

* Or seemed to affirm it. *Pro commoditate Urbis, quam æterno nomine*, jubente Deo, *donavimus, hæc vobis privilegia credidimus deferenda*, &c. Cod. Th. L. xiii. Tit. v. p. 63. where see Gothofred.

† Joannes Ciampini gives an account of them in a Treatise *De Sacris Aedificiis a Constantino Magno constructis.*

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This, and his profuse gifts to some who deserved them, and to others who deserved them not, obliged him to burden his people with taxes.

He built a church, and dedicated it to the twelve apostles, and intended to be buried there for the benefit of his soul. ὡς ἂν ᾗ μετα τελευτὴν ἀξιῶτο τῶν ἐντανθοῖ μελλουσῶν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῶν Ἀποστόλων συντελεῖσθαι εὐχῶν—ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς ὁπησιφόρον τὴν τῶνδε μνήμην, ποιεῖσθαι αὐτῷ πεισώμενος. *quo scilicet precationum quæ in honorem Apostolorum ibi celebrandæ erant, etiam mortuus particeps fieret.—pro certo sibi persuadens, horum memoriam non parum utilitatis animæ suæ esse allaturam.* Eusebius *Vit. Const.* iv. 60.

These things Eusebius mentions with approbation, and they shew how even such men as he were not free from superstition.

Constantine was perhaps the first Christian who was buried in a church, which afterwards became a common practice.

There is a story about him in Chrysostom, *T.* i. *Orat.* 20. related by Flavian, which is much to his credit, that some rioters having done outrage to one of his statues, and they who excited him to revenge and severity having told him, amongst other things, that his face had been pelted with stones, and all over bruised and battered, he put his hand to his face, and said that he did not feel it.

He was neither so good as Christian writers describe him, nor so bad as some Pagans represent him. He must have greatly offended the latter, since he not only established Christianity, but began the destruction of Paganism by various discouragements; by shutting up some temples, pulling down some, and stripping

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stripping others of their gods and ornaments. He was indeed guilty of several faults, but upon the whole his good qualities may perhaps outweigh the bad. Fleury observes very prettily; *On ne se trompera point sur Constantin, en croyant le mal qu'en dit Eusebe, et le bien qu'en dit Zosime.*

Eutropius hath judged freely of him, and not amiss. *Insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum Constantinum ex illa favorabili animi docilitate mutavit. Primum necessitudines persecutus, egregium virum et sororis filium, omnimodæ indolis juvenem interfecit; mox uxorem, post numerosos amicos. Vir primo imperii tempore optimis Principibus, ultimo medils comparandus.* L. x.

Excessive honours, and little short of divine, were paid by the Christians to his name, to his tomb, and to his statue, after his death. He was called a saint, and a saint equal to the apostles; and as Proculus forsware himself to make Romulus a god, so Nicephorus had the effrontery to declare that God had endued the urn and the statue of Constantine with miraculous powers, and that whosoever touched them was healed of all diseases and infirmities. The Pagans, who scorned to be less complaisant than the Christians, made him a god. *Philostorg.* ii. 17. *Theodoret* i. 34. *Nicephorus* viii. 55. *Eutropius.*

Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, a great friend of Athanasius, was deposed by the synod of Antioch, for Sabellianism, A. D. 327. *Some relate,* says Socrates, *that it was for other faults which yet they have not mentioned; and indeed it is a custom with our spiritual rulers, when they depose a man, to load him with general accusations, and to call him irreligious and impious, but never to specify and declare particularly of what impiety he is*

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guilty. Ὡς μὲν ὑπ τινες φασὶν, δι ἄλλας οὐκ ἀγαθὰς αἰτίας· φανερῶς δ οὐκ εἰρήκασι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ πάντων εἰώθασι τῶν καθαιρουμένων ποιεῖν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, καὶ κατηγορεῖν μὲν καὶ ἀσεβεῖν λέγοντες, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τῆς ἀσεβείας ὑ προσιέντες, i. 24.

Whoever sits down to examine the state of the Christian world, civil and religious, in the fourth and fifth centuries, if he be not strangely prejudiced, will find his veneration for those days to wear off apace, and, if he lives in a Protestant country, will learn perhaps to be contented with his own times, which, such as they are, deserve the preference.

Rufinus, and from him Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, give us an account of the conversion of some * Indian nations in the time of Constantine, of which the substance is as follows.

These Indians, being at variance with the Romans, slew all the passengers in a ship which put into one of their harbours, except two boys, Frumentius and Ædesius, whom Meropius, a Christian and a philosopher, of Tyre, and a relation of theirs, had taken along with him. These boys were presented to the king of the country, who made Frumentius his secretary, and Ædesius his cup-bearer. The king died, leaving a wife and a young child, and Frumentius administred the affairs of the kingdom, together with Ædesius, during the minority of the young king. Frumentius, inquiring

* Or of a people of Æthiopia, whose capital was Auxumis. Tillemont hath collected many things concerning Frumentius, H. E. vii. 284. Ludolphus in his *Historia Æthiopica* says, that, according to the Greek, Latin, and Æthiopic writers, the Abyssines were converted by Frumentius, and that Cedrenus and Nicephorus were mistaken in placing the conversion of this people so low as the reign of Justinian.

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inquiring amongst the Roman merchants who traded there, found some Christians, who under his protection assembled together, and built a church, and catechized some of the Indians. Frumentius, resigning his office, which he had filled with credit and integrity, got leave to return home with Ædesius, and coming to Alexandria, exhorted Athanasius to send over some Ecclesiastics to that country. He was prevailed upon to go back himself, as the most proper person, and being made a bishop, he preached the gospel there with great success, *healing the sick, and working many miracles.* This account Rufinus received from Ædesius, who was returned home to Tyre, and was there a presbyter of the church. *Socrates* i. 19. *Sozomen* ii. 24. *Theodoret* i. 23. *Rufinus.*

About the same time the *Iberi* received Christianity, as we learn from Rufinus, and after him from Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. The *Iberi* inhabited a country between the Euxine sea and the Caspian, which is now called Georgia. A Christian woman, who was a captive, had gained the esteem and respect of the people by her good behaviour. It was a custom there to carry sick children from house to house, to ask advice of the neighbourhood. A child being brought to her, she put him upon her bed, and prayed for him, and restored him to health. The queen of the country being very ill, and hearing of this, came to her, and was healed in like manner. The king and the queen offered her great rewards, which she would not accept, but exhorted them to embrace her religion. Thus far the story has a good face, but

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.

For

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For the present the exhortations of the female captive had no effect upon the king. Afterwards, as he was hunting in a forest, it grew quite dark on a sudden, and he knew not which way to go, and was in great distress: he called upon Jesus Christ, and the daylight instantly returned. Upon this he sent for the woman, was instructed by her in Christianity, recommended it to his subjects, and sent for proper teachers to Constantine *, who received his messengers with great kindness, and appointed a bishop to go with them. In the mean time the king erected a church, at the building of which a very improbable miracle is related to have been wrought; a pillar was moved, and raised up, and suspended in the air, by the prayers of the woman. Rufinus says that he had this account from Bacurius. Bacurius was prince of the *Iberi*, and a general in the Roman service, under Valens and Theodosius, about forty years after the conversion of that people. Zosimus, who was a zealous pagan, commends him as a very brave and very honest man. Ἕλκων μὲν ἐξ Ἀρμενίας τὸ γένος, ἔξω δὲ πάσης κακοηθείας ἀνὴρ, μέλα τῷ τὰ πολεμικὰ πεπαιδεῦσθαι. L. iv. See *Rufinus* x. 10. *Socrates* i. 20. *Sozomen* ii. 7. *Theodoret* i. 24.

As to the facts in these two relations, which are not miraculous, there is no sufficient reason to deny them; but the preternatural part, particularly in the story of the *Iberi* †, calls loudly for abatements; however

* To this Constantine seems to alude in his epistle to the council of Tyre. *Mea certe opera divino Numini interviente, ubique terrarum pax viget; ipsis etiam Barbaris Dei nomen sincere venerantibus, qui ad hoc usque tempus veritatem ignoraverant*—Socr. i. 34. Soz. ii. 28.

† Miracles are now ceased amongst this people, by their own ac-

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ever, the occasion, the converting of two nations to Christianity, might be worthy of miracles, such as healing the diseased, and we should rather expect to find them here than in the dens of monks, or at the graves of the martyrs. Eusebius says nothing at all of these transactions.

The miracle of the *pillar* was perhaps borrowed from Pliny; that of the *darkness* from Ovid.

Summa miracula, epistylia tantæ molis attolli potuisse. —Difficillime hoc contigit in limine ipso quod foribus imponebat. Etenim ea maxima moles fuit: nec sedit in cubili, anxio artifice, mortis destinatione suprema. Traduntque in ea cogitatione fessum nocturno tempore in quiete vidisse præsentem Deam, cui templum fiebat, hortantem ut viveret: se composuisse lapidem: atque ita postero die apparuit, et pondere ipso correctus videbatur. He speaks of the temple of the Ephesian Diana, xxxvi. 21.

Exierat tecto Laurentes Picus in agros,
Indigenas fixurus apros——
Tum quoque cantato densetur carmine cœlum,
Et nebulas exhalat humus, cœcisque vagantur
Limitibus comites, et abest custodia regi.

Met. xiv. 342.

To these missionaries we may add an Arian missionary, who flourished about the same time, and whose history is thus delivered by Philostorgius.

Constantius, like his father Constantine, was very desirous to spread the gospel in foreign parts. He sent

knowledgement. When the popish missionaries tell the Georgians what miracles are still wrought in the church of Rome, the Georgians answer; That is a lie, for we have none now wrought amongst us. *Gelani* Historia Armena.

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sent an embassy to a people called *Homeritæ* *, supposed to have been the ancient Sabæans, and the posterity of Abraham by Keturah, dwelling in Arabia Felix. They circumcised their children on the eighth day, and sacrificed to the sun, moon, and dæmons of the country, and many Jews dwelt amongst them. The emperor sent magnificent presents to their prince, and desired he would permit churches to be built in his dominions for the Roman merchants who resorted thither, and for those natives who should embrace Christianity.

One of the principal embassadors was Theophilus an Indian, who in his youth had been sent an hostage to Constantine, from the inhabitants of the island Diu, and settling at Rome, led a monastic life, and had a great reputation for sanctity. Eusebius of Nicomedia had ordained him deacon, and upon this occasion the Arians made him a bishop. Perhaps, says Valesius, they did this through emulation, and to equal one of their own sect to Frumentius, who had been consecrated and sent to Ethiopia in like manner by Athanasius.

Theophilus preached the gospel to the *Homeritæ*, was opposed violently by the Jews, whom he put to silence *by working miracles*, converted the king and many of the people, and established Christianity in those parts.

After this he went to Diu, to visit his own country, and passed through many regions of India where the gospel was already received, and where he rectified some irregularities in practice; for as to matters of faith,

* See Gothofred on the *Cod. Th.* L. xii. *Tit.* xii. p. 582.

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faith, there was nothing amiss, says Philostorgius, and they were all of the Arian persuasion.

Thence he went to the Ethiopians called *Auximitæ*, and settled things pertaining to religion.

Then he returned to Rome, was highly honoured by the emperor, remained with the title of bishop, but without any particular church or diocese, and was esteemed and beloved by all those of his own sect, as a most excellent and pious man.

Tradit Philostorgius Auximitas a Theophilo Ariano conversos tempore Constantii; cum populi istius conversio revera tribuenda sit Frumentio orthodoxo, ordinato ab Athanasio. Lowth. To contradict Philostorgius, he makes him affirm more than his words imply. Τοῖς Αὐξωμίταις δὲ παραγεγονὼς, ἣ τὰ ἐκεῖσε καλασησάμενος, τῆς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀνακομιδῆς ἔσχετο. *Sed cum ad Auxumitas venisset, et cuncta illic negotia probe ordinasset, inde ad Romanorum ditionem redire cœpit.* iii. p. 489.

Constantius, and Gallus his nephew, had sworn friendship and fidelity to each other in the presence of this Theophilus: therefore when Constantius was resolved to destroy Gallus, Theophilus interposed and exclaimed against it, upon which Constantius banished him. But afterwards, the emperor's beloved wife being very ill, he had recourse to Theophilus, who was reported to work miracles and to heal the sick; he therefore recalled him, owned his fault, begged pardon, and intreated him earnestly to cure his wife. Theophilus laid his hands upon her, and she recovered. Yet after this, he banished Theophilus a second time, suspecting him to have been a favourer of Gallus.

Theophilus is said to have raised a woman from the dead. *Aiunt etiam eum aliquando Antiochiæ Judæam quandam*

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quandam ex mortuis suscitasse. Id autem affirmat Thalassius, qui cum illo diutissime versatus est, et in hujusmodi rebus extra suspicionem est mendacii: et qui alioqui haud paucos habet hujus rei testes qui eodem tempore vixerunt. So Suidas, who is supposed to have taken it from Philostorgius.

" Philostorgius says, that Theophilus the Indian, " his pretended apostle of Arianism, having been ba- " nished, was recalled by Constantius to heal his wife, " and that he did heal her miraculously. Photius " seems to deride this miracle by his manner of relat- " ing it, and we know how little credit Philostorgius " deserves, especially in the miracles which he as- " cribes to those of his own sect. But moreover we " are assured that the distemper, of which he says " that the empress was cured by Theophilus, and " which he calls μητρομανίαν, was the very distemper " of which she died, according to Zonaras. For " though Theophilus (*he should have said*, Philostor- " gius) names not the empress, there is no question " but that he means Eusebia." *Tillemont* Hist. des Emp. iv. 677.

That Photius speaks contemptuously of the cure, is more than I can discern. See Philostorg. p. 504. I blame not Tillemont for rejecting all these miracles, which seem to have been rumours raised and spread to serve a party; but the true reason of his disbelief is that they were Arian miracles; and if they had been reported concerning Athanasius, all difficulties would have been smoothed over, and accounted of small moment.

Under Constantine lived Spyridon, bishop of a city in Cyprus. Socrates i. 12. and Sozomen i. 11. have reported some incredible miracles wrought by him, and

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and also his preferring works of charity to the observation of a fast, his giving meat to a weary traveller on a day in Lent, and eating along with him to encourage him.

Agapetus, an Arian, was at first a soldier, then a presbyter, and then bishop of Synnada. He raised the dead, and healed the sick, and wrought various miracles, and converted a great number of Pagans, if we may believe Philostorgius, p. 481. Eusebius hath made no mention of this saint.

The greatest of all wonders, which is said to have happened in the days of Constantine, was the discovery of the *true Cross*, which immediately produced the superstitious veneration of it, and ended in the grossest idolatry, in worshipping the very wood. Nothing, says Tillemont, is more certain, for it is attested by Rufinus, Sulpitius Severus, Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen, Ambrose, Paulinus, and Chrysostom.

Historia hæc de inventione Sanctæ Crucis non occurrit apud Eusebium. Verum Cyrillus Episcopus Hierosolymitanus, qui eodem seculo vixit, aperte testatur lignum Sanctæ Crucis Imperatori Constantino divinitus ostensum.—item in Catechesi de ejus inventione loquitur, ut de re omnibus nota. Quocirca de Historiæ hujus fide dubitari non potest. Lowth ad *Socrat.* i. 17. What did this Protestant Divine of ours mean? Could he believe that the true cross was found? or would he only say that a pretended one was discovered?

I cannot give a better account of this affair, as it stands in Rufinus, *&c.* than in the words of Tillemont, which are extremely well adapted to the story, and full of what the French call *unction*, and the English, *canting*.

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canting. But first we will transcribe a few lines from another author.

" It is said that Constantine found the cross of Je-
" sus Christ, and that many miracles were wrought
" by it. And yet it is surprizing enough, that Euse-
" bius, eye-witness of these transactions, who exactly
" describes all the circumstances in the discovery of
" the sepulchre of Christ, and who forgets nothing
" that could turn to the advantage of religion, says
" not a single word either of the cross, or of the mi-
" racles which are pretended to have been performed
" by it." Thus * Du Pin, fairly and honestly, *Bibl.* ii. 15. Now for Tillemont:

" When

* This worthy man suffered (as such men commonly do) for his frankness and candour. " The archbishop of Paris published an Or-
" dinance against his *Bibliotheque*, and condemned it, as containing
" *several propositions false, rash, scandalous, capable of offending*
" *pious ears; tending to weaken the proofs of Tradition for the au-*
" *thority of canonical books, and for many other articles of faith*;
" injurious to general councils; *to the Holy apostolic see, and to*
" *the fathers of the church; erroneous, and leading to heresy*, respec-
" tive.

" The archbishop would rather have had this book purged and
" corrected, but *the evil*, as he said, *being spread quite through the*
" *work*, he judged it more convenient to condemn and suppress it,
" and forbid the reading of it. The Parliament also suppressed it.
" But the person of the author was spared, because of his absolute
" submission to the ordinance of the prelate, to whom he presented a
" declaration upon twelve heads, signed with his own hand, in which
" he acknowledges that in some points he was mistaken; he explains
" himself upon the rest, and confesses that he had not well expressed
" his sentiments, nor sufficiently weighed the terms which he had
" used.—This declaration of Du Pin was printed, together with the
" decrees of the archbishop and of the Parliament.

" I mention not this to hurt the character of his book. On the
" contrary, I am persuaded that all men of sense, especially amongst

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" When St Helena the mother of Constantine was " arrived at Jerusalem, and had begun to visit the sa- " cred places, the Holy Ghost enflamed her with a " desire to find the wood of the cross. But there was " no person who had ever seen it, or could tell where " it had been hid. She then enquired for the place " where Christ was crucified, and found it out by " the help of the Jews and Christians, or, as Rufinus " says, by some revelation; and being moved by the " Holy Spirit, she ordered the buildings to be pulled " down, and the rubbish to be removed. The faith " of this female saint was recompensed beyond ex- " pectation, and, upon digging very deep, they found " the holy sepulchre, and near it three crosses, with " the title which had been affixed to the cross of " Christ, and the nails which had pierced his sacred " body. But still a difficulty remained, to distin- " guish which was the cross of Christ. Saint Maca- " rius, who was bishop of Jerusalem, proposed the " method. He was a prelate illustrious for his wis- dom

" the Protestants, will only esteem it so much the more." *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. et M. iii. p. 194.

The *pious ears* of the archbishop of Paris, and of other good souls, must have been offended at many free things said by Du Pin, and at the account which he gave of Cyril, and of the council of Ephesus. Every intelligent reader will perceive that he had a bad opinion of this father, and that he thought him an insolent man, and a miserable scribbler. He sets forth very fairly the objections which may be made to the conduct and the proceedings of the saint and of the council: and then he sets himself to remove and invalidate those objections, and he gives as good answers to them as could be given. If his defence was unsatisfactory (as it really is) how could he help it? Matters of fact are of a stubborn nature, and it was not in his power to annihilate them. He might indeed have *made* history, in the manner of *Varillas* and *Maimbourg*, and then he would have been in odour of sanctity, and have enjoyed the favour of his superiors.

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" dom, and truly worthy of God, and he had just " then overthrown the heresy of Arius at the great " council of Nice. This holy man, knowing that one " of the principal ladies of the city lay extremely ill, " told Helena, that they must carry the three crosses " to the sick person, and beg of God that he would " cure her by the application of the true cross. The " empress and all the people being present, he touch- " ed the woman with two of the crosses ineffectually, " but as soon as he had made use of the third, she a- " rose in perfect health, and stronger than she had e- " ver been. It is believed, says Sozomen, that they ap- " plied the cross to a dead body, which instantly re- " vived. Saint Paulinus and Saint Sulpitius Severus " mention only this last miracle.

" Helena, full of joy, adored, not the wood itself, " says St Ambrose, which would have been a Pagan " folly, but the King of heaven who suffered upon it. " She took part of this treasure to carry to her son, " and enclosing the rest in a silver box, she commit- " ted it to the bishop of Jerusalem. It was carefully " kept in the church which was built there, and the bi- " shop alone had the power to give little bits of it, " which were considered as a singular favour and " blessing. Saint Paulinus relates a *very singular* " *thing* concerning that part of the cross which was " at Jerusalem. This cross, says he, having a vital " virtue in an insensible and inanimate substance, " hath yielded, and continues to yield almost daily " its precious wood to the desires of an infinite num- " ber of persons, without suffering any diminution *, " continuing

* A man capable of affirming a fact so absurd and ridiculous, ought not to be cited and recommended to us as a good witness for miracles,

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" continuing all the while as if it had been untouch-
" ed. It permits itself every day to be divided into
" several parts, and yet remains exposed entire to the
" veneration of the people.

" Saint Cyril of Jerusalem says only, that the pie-
" ces of the cross were brought away from Jerusalem,
" and were spread all over the earth twenty-five years
" after." H. E. vii. 5.

See more in Tillemont concerning the nails, the title which was upon the cross, the spear, the reed, the sponge, and the crown of thorns, part of which wrought miracles even so lately as in his time.

Here arises some difficulty, not whether the miracles were true or false, for as to that all is clear enough; but whether the discovery of the cross was a fiction made up some years after the death of Helena and of Constantine, or whether Helena really found a cross. This must remain a dubious point, though upon the whole it seems most probable, that the story was invented by the Christians of Jerusalem after the emperor and his mother were dead.

The discovery in the time of Constantine rests principally upon the authority of Cyril of Jerusalem, the only witness who lived at that time, and who speaks of no miracles attending the discovery; and the question is, whether the epistle of Cyril which mentions it be genuine, or spurious, or interpolated; and also, whether Cyril, supposing it genuine, made up that part of the story himself, and dated the discovery too early.

but should be rejected with disdain, at least by Protestant divines. Whatpi ty is it that an ingenious, religious, charitable, and good tem- pered prelate as Paulinus was, gave into these godly fictions?

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If Helena found a cross, it is impossible now to know how the fraud was conducted, and who were the actors in this godly knavery, the hiders and the finders. Eusebius, who lived then, and was bishop of Cæsarea in the neighbourhood, says not a word of the cross, though he relates the discovery of the sepulchre of Christ, and mentions the magnificent church which was erected there, and names Macarius as the person to whom the care of the building was committed. *Vit. Const.* iii. 25, &c. It is therefore to be concluded, that either he knew nothing, or believed nothing of it. If the thing was really transacted as Socrates and others relate, one might conjecture that Eusebius chose to be silent, lest he should offend the family of Constantine, and say what the times would not bear.

Neque Crucis inventionem solus præterit Eusebius. Quod magis miramur, de ea nihil memorat Constantinus ipse, in sua ad Macarium Epistola, ubi Dei in laudes erumpit, ob repertum, quod tamdiu delituerat, sepulcrum Domini, sacratissimum passionis ejus monumentum. *Quanto magis repertæ Crucis meminisset? Non nescimus Bellarminum Constantini verba hæc accommodasse Cruci. Sed intoleranda hæc est Bellarmini sive inscitia, sive audacia, quocunque nomine vocetur, dum ex sepulchro Crucem fabricat. Inventæ Crucis primus mentionem fecit Cyrillus, qui ea de re ad Constantium scripsit Augustum:* Ac tempore quidem Deo dilectissimi ac beatæ memoriæ Constantini patris tui salutare Crucis lignum Hierosolymis repertum est. *Cum autem illo tempore vixerit Cyrillus, quo Hierosolymam lustravit Helena, durum fortasse videbitur, aut factum negare, aut Epistolam Cyrillo detrahere. Non dissimulabimus tamen in ea questione nos pendere animi. Urget Cyrilli ad Imperatorem Epistola qui commentis ludi non debuit. Dubium tamen animum multa*

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multa faciunt. Primum de reperta Cruce traditionis dissimilitudo. Dein altissimum Eusebii Constantinique de ea inventione silentium, &c. Denique fraus Reliquiariorum nobis est timenda in rebus ejusmodi. Excogitatum esse Crucis inventionem, partim ut pergratum fieret Constantino, qui Reliquiis extra modum delectabatur, partim et Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ honos accumularetur, quid vetat? Nonne Juvenalis, Cyrilli de successoribus unus, per commentitia scripta *Palæstinæ principatum extorquere voluit, docente Leone,* Epist. 62. *Hieronymus quidem * Cyrillum ejusmodi coloribus pingit in* Chronico, *quibus existimari forsan posset animum a piis fraudibus alienum non gestasse, &c.* S. Basnage, *Ann.* ii. 728-9.

If Cyril of Jerusalem wrote these words, and vouched for the discovery of the true cross, he must, as to this particular, pass either for a *deceiver*, or for

that tool,
Which wise men work with, call'd ——

One would therefore willingly suppose that the letter ascribed to Cyril is spurious or interpolated.

The good woman Helena was near fourscore years old when she took this journey to Jerusalem. It is more probable that she should have been imposed upon, than that she should have had any share in the contrivance. As to Macarius, if what is here related of him be true, his *Blessedness* must have been let into the secret.

Helena was sainted and highly honoured after her death: her body is said to be in an abbey in France, and also at Rome; but there is no great inconvenience to suppose it to be in two places at once. The mul-

 tiplication

* See Sozom. iv. 25. vii. 7. Socrat. ii. 40. concerning the character of Cyril.

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tiplication of the cross, attested by Paulinus, leads us to this opinion. See Tillemont H. E. vii. 18.

The ecclesiastics of Jerusalem, at what time soever they contrived the discovery of the cross, knew their own interest very well. It must have drawn a swarm of pious vagrants to their city, and have brought in great revenues to the church and to the bishop, if they gave only sixpence a-piece, to see the box in which the cross was locked up *.

The finding of the cross hath been also ascribed to one Judas, a Jew, (and a bad name) by Gregory of Tours. See the remarks of J. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, vi. 14. § 10. p. 1243.

I know not why Basnage should affirm that this Gregory is the first of those who have spoken of the finding of the cross, p. 1244.

There is a passage of Eusebius on the Psalms, which hath been thought to refer to these miracles.

" Montfaucon conjectures that Eusebius composed " this work after the year 327, in which those mira- " cles were wrought that later authors have recorded " concerning the discovery of the cross, and to which " Eusebius seems to allude on *Psalm* lxxxvii. p. 549. " where he speaks of miracles wrought in his time " near the sepulchre of Jesus Christ, as also of the " church which was built there by Helena, the mo- " ther of Constantine. It was not dedicated till the " year 335, so that Eusebius must have composed his " Commentary after that year. Yet in the life of " Constantine, where Eusebius speaks of this church, " and describes very particularly and with much " pomp

* Macrina, the sister of Gregory Nyssen, carried about her a little cross, and a ring, in which a small bit of the true cross was enclosed, *Vit. Macr.*

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"pomp, the synod which was held there when the "church was consecrated, he says nothing at all of "it, though this was the most proper place to men- "tion it. Montfaucon however persuades himself "that Eusebius refers to these miracles in his Com- "mentary on the Psalms. But one might as proba- "bly conclude, that this passage in the Commen- "tary was the interpolation of some copist, at a time "when no scruple was made to add to the writings "of the ancients, or to take away from them. If "Eusebius had heard any thing of these miracles, is "it to be supposed that he would have passed them "over in a work made on purpose to celebrate Con- "stantine and Helena? Was it an indifferent thing, "and of no consequence in the fourth century, whe- "ther mention should be made of the manner in "which Helena found the true cross, and distinguish- "ed it from those of the thieves? No one will say it, "or entertain so poor an opinion of the rhetoric of "Eusebius, as to imagine that he could omit such "an affair if he knew it. His silence therefore will "always be a stronger motive to reject what later au- "thors have said upon this subject, than any argu- "ment that can be offered to the contrary, from an "allusion which might so easily have been inserted "by a forger into the Commentary of Eusebius on "the Psalms, to support by his authority a fable in- "vented afterwards." *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. et M. iv. p. 5.

Amongst the fathers who assisted at the Nicene council was Paphnutius, a venerable confessor and prelate. He was reported, says Socrates, to have wrought miracles, and indeed one would sooner believe it of him than of most of his contemporaries,

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since he was eminent both in prudence and in goodness. This historian hath transmitted to us a remarkable account of his antifanatical wisdom, by which he put a stop to a very absurd decree, which else might have passed in that general council.

Paphnutius cujusdam urbis in superiori Thebaide fuit Episcopus; vir adeo pius Deoque carus, ut admirandis ab eo signa ederentur. Huic persecutionis tempore oculus fuerat effossus. Imperator vero hominem magnopere observabat, et frequenter in palatium accersebat, effossumque ejus oculum deosculabatur.—Visum erat Episcopis novam legem inducere, ut quicumque in sacrum ordinem allecti essent, id est, Episcopi, Presbyteri, et Diaconi, ab uxorum quas, cum laici essent, matrimonii jure sibi sociaverant, concubitu abstinerent. Cumque hac re in medium proposita, singularum sententiæ rogarentur, surgens in medio Episcoporum concessu Paphnutius, vehementer vociferatus est, non esse imponendum clericis et sacerdotibus grave hoc jugum: honorabiles nuptias et torum immaculatum esse dicens; ne ex nimia severitate damnum potius inferrent Ecclesiæ. Neque enim omnes ferre posse tam districtæ continentiæ disciplinam; ac forsitan inde eventurum esse, ut cujusque uxoris castitas minime custodiretur. Castitatem autem vocabat congressum viri cum uxore legitima. Satis esse ut qui in Clerum fuissent adscripti, juxta veterem Ecclesiæ traditionem jam non amplius uxores ducerent: non tamen quemquam sejungendum esse ab ea quam antehac, tunc cum esset laicus, legitime duxisset. Atque hæc dixit, ipse non modo conjugii, sed muliebris congressus penitus expers; quippe qui a puero in monasterio educatus fuisset, et ob singularem castimoniam ab omnibus celebratus. Cæterum universus sacordotum cœtus Paphnutii sermonibus assensus est. Proinde omissa ejus rei disceptatione, singulorum

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rum arbitrio permiserunt, ut ab uxorum consuetudine abstinerent, si vellent. Socr. i. 11.

Baronius and Valesius would willingly set the account aside, for obvious reasons. Du Pin and Tillemont are more fair and candid. See Lowth on *Socrates*, and Tillemont H. E. vi. p. 677.

This decree concerning the marriages of the clergy, even as it was modified by the wise Paphnutius, will seem over-rigid to many: and for these, and several other reasons besides these, it is matter of some wonder how the church was supplied with a sufficient number of ecclesiastics. Who that loved peace and quiet, and could earn a morsel of bread any other way, would have chosen to travel year after year from Jerusalem to Jericho, from council to council, to live in perpetual disputes, jars, broils, and quarrels, censuring and censured, anathematizing and anathematized, and, if he happened to be on the wrong side of the question, sure to be banished and transported at least to some *remote island*, if nothing worse ensued? Who would not say;

> *Quod te per Genium dextramque Deosque Penates*
> *Obsecro, et obtestor: vitæ me redde priori?*

The council of *Illiberis* is supposed by some to have been held in the time of Constantine, by others much earlier, and by Tillemont about A. D. 300.

This council excommunicated those who lent money upon interest, though the laws of the empire permitted it; but almost all the fathers had wrong notions about interest, or usury, as also about self-defence, and bearing arms.

Instead

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Instead of dissuading vows of virginity, it excommunicated those women, who after having made such rash and silly vows, entered into a state of matrimony. It also excommunicated those who should eat with a Jew. Tillemont H. E. vii. 302.

" The council of Illiberis made two decrees against " the Jews of Spain. In that country they had much " commerce with the Christians: they ate together, " and lived familiarly. The council forbad this in- " tercourse under pain of excommunication for any " one who should eat with a Jew. The punishment " was violent and inflicted *mal-à-propos*, since re- " pasts are actions purely civil, and excommunication " ought to be inflicted only for ecclesiastical offences. " —By another decree this council forbids the pos- " sessors of all lands to permit the Jews to bless the " fruits of the earth, because their benediction would " render that of the Christians useless, and it threat- " ens to drive out intirely from the church those who " should disobey.—The Jews in that country seem " to have been tenants to the Christians. They car- " ried the first fruits to the synagogue, or rather they " had public prayers for the divine blessing on their " grounds. The Spanish Jews have still in their ri- " tual a benediction, which they pronounce for al- " monds, apricots, cyder, and acorns. They request " of God, that he would send rain and dew upon the " earth, and bless the fruits, seeds, &c. These are " the blessings which the council of Illiberis hath " condemned. It forbad the landlords to suffer them " to be used by the tenants, fearing that the Jewish " would cause the Christian benediction to be inef- " fectual. As if prayers addressed to the same God " could prejudice each other, and those of the Jew " could

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" could have a noxious influence on the petitions of " the faithful!" *Basnage* Hist. des Juifs vi. 14. § 8.

Under Constantine flourished Eusebius, the most learned bishop of that age, and the father of ecclesiastical history, whom it were ingratitude to pass over slightly in a work of this kind.

Like the illustrious Origen, of whom he was very fond, he hath had warm friends and inveterate enemies, and the world hath ever been divided in judging of his theological sentiments:

Τυδείδην δ' οὐκ ἄν γνοίης, ποτέροισι μεμείη,
Ἢ μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ὁμιλέοι, ἢ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖς.

The Arians and Unitarians have always laid claim to him, and of their opposers many have given him up, others have defended him; and in truth any party might be glad to have him on their side.

In the manuscripts of Eusebius, we find him perpetually censured and reviled in marginal notes by Greek scholiasts, and called Arian, Heretic, Blasphemer, Detestable Wretch, &c.

He was one of those bishops who judged that Arius had hard measure, and who wrote a letter in his behalf to Alexander of Alexandria. But he was a bad intercessor upon that occasion, and probably had very little interest with Alexander.

He was certainly no admirer of Athanasius, yet not an active and a violent adversary. He had the favour and friendship of Constantine, which he seems never to have used in depressing or hurting others, or in getting any thing for himself; and he refused to change his bishopric for a better.

He scrupled at first to admit the word ὁμούσιος, because it was *unscriptural*, but afterwards, for the sake of

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of peace and quiet, he complied with it in a sense which he gave to it, and which hath been mentioned above. *The use of unscriptural terms*, saith he, *has been the cause of almost all the confusion and disturbance that hath happened in the church*—ἀγράφοις χρήσασθαι φωναῖς· διὸ σχεδὸν ἡ πᾶσα γέγονε συγχυσίς τε καὶ ἀκαλλασασία τῶν ἐκκλσιῶν. Apud. *Socr.* i. 8. p. 26.

He seems to have been neither an Arian nor an Athanasian, but one who endeavoured to steer a middle course, yet inclining more to the Arians than to the Athanasians. When he died, Acacius succeeded him in the see of Cæsarea, a learned man, who had been his disciple, and his intimate friend, and who was of the Semiarian party. See a life of Eusebius by Valesius, and another by Le Clerc, and Le Clerc's *Ars Crit.* vol. III. and *Bib. A. et M.* iv. 18. Fabricius B. G. v. 30. Du Pin B. E. ii. 1. Beausobre *Hist. de Man.* i. 545. Fleury H. E. xii. Tillemont, Cave, Montfaucon, and S. Basnage *Ann.* ii. 753, who, in his account of the Arian controversy, shews himself more favourable to the Consubstantialists than becomes an impartial historian.

Eusebius was very laborious and industrious, and must have spent much time and pains in reading, collecting, and digesting, but he seems to have bestowed little in forming a style, and in imitating the colour, manner, and diction of polite writers; his language is neither elegant nor perspicuous, and where it aims at eloquence and sublimity, it is usually turgid and perplexed.

Treating of the doctrine of the Trinity, he makes this remark: "Our Saviour hath taught us what we "ought to think concerning him, in order to obtain "salvation: *God so loved the world, that he gave his*

"*only*

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" *only begotten Son, that whosoever* believeth *in him* " *may have life eternal.* He says not, he who *knoweth* " his nature, but he who *believeth* in him. *Contr.* " *Marc.* i. 12. p. 72."

In the *Testimonia pro Eusebio*, collected by Valesius, we find the following censure:

Meminimus in quodam libello Eusebii quondam egregii in reliquis viri legisse, quia nec Spiritus Sanctus sciat mysterium nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et admiror tantæ doctrinæ virum hanc maculam Spiritui Sancto inflixisse. Ex Libro Quæst. &c.

The writer of these *Questions* might not perhaps mean Eusebius of Cæsarea, but some other Eusebius. See Tillemont H. E. vii. 529. and perhaps he mistook his author, whosoever that author was, who might say that the *evil spirit*, the devil, was ignorant of this mystery, as Ignatius affirms in one of his epistles.

Eusebius compares the three sons of Constantine to the Trinity. Οὕτω δὴ Τριάδος λόγῳ τριῶν γονὴν παίδων θεοφιλῆ κἀπαίνως.—*Ita cum ad quandam Trinitatis similitudinem tres filios Deo amabiles sustulisset.*—Vit. Const. iv. 40. What was become of his judgment and discretion, when he wrote such things!

He observes that Christ left his body for a short space of time, to shew that he was really dead, and reassumed it to manifest his divine power.—Τὸ μὲν σῶμα πρὸς βραχὺ καταλιπών—*Laud. Const.* xv.

See how easy it is to fall into heterodoxy quite unawares! Eusebius thought not of giving offence by making this remark: but some wise *school-man* hath delivered it as an Apophthegm; *Quod Christus assumsit, nunquam dimisit.* And therefore we must bring Eusebius off as well as we can. Let Valesius plead his cause: *Hæc benigna interpretatione adjuvanda sunt*, says

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says he, *Christus enim ne minimo quidem temporis puncto corpus suum reliquit. Quippe qui, ut vulgo dici solet, id quod semel assumsit, nunquam dimisit. Sed corpus suum animæ consortio destitui aliquantisper passus est.* An excellent distinction!

Eusebius calls Christ, τὸ φῶς τὸ προκόσμιον· E. H. i. 2. which Valesius translates *æternum lumen*. He should have rendered it *antemundanum lumen*, which, though not so elegant, is more exact; Eusebius could have said φῶς ἀΐδιον, if he had been so minded. He declares that the Son is Παῤῥὶ συμβασιλεύων ἐξ ἀνάρχων αἰώνων εἰς ἀπείρους ϗ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας. *reigns with his Father, from ages without beginning to ages without end.* Laud. Const. i. p. 217. And again; ὁ χρόνοις μέν τισιν οὐκ ὤν, ὕστερον δέ πως γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων ὤν, ϗ πρέσβυς, καὶ τῷ Παῤῥὶ ὡς υἱὸν διαπαντὸς συνών—That is, *There was not a time when he was not, or when he began to be, but he as Son always co-existed with the father.* Dem. Evang. iv. p. 149. And in his *Commentary* on the *Psalms*; Τί γὰρ φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος, Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε; δηλονότι περὶ τῆς χρονικῆς ἔφη γεννήσεως τῆς κατ' οἰκονομίαν· περὶ ϗ τῆς ἀνάρχου φησὶν αὐτὸς ὁ Δαυὶδ. ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. *Cur igitur ait illi Dominus:* Ego hodie genui te? *Id videlicet de temporali generatione dictum, quæ per œconomiam Facta. De illa namque quæ sine principio est, ait ipse David:* Ex utero ante luciferum genui te. p. 15.

This looks like an acknowledgment of the *eternity* of the Son, and this was also the opinion of his master Origen, who says, Ὅρα δὲ τὸ· υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, λέγεται πρὸς αὐτὸν υἱὸς τῷ Θεῷ, ᾧ ἀεί ἐστι τὸ σήμερον, οὐκ ἔνι ϗ ἑσπέρα Θεῷ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι ὅτι οὐδὲ πρωΐα, ἀλλ' ὁ συμπαρεκτείνων τῇ ἀγενήτῳ ϗ ἀϊδίῳ αὐτῷ ζωῇ, ἵν' ὕτως εἴπω, χρόνος, ἡμέρα ἐστὶν αὐτῷ σήμερον, ἐν ᾗ γεγέννηται ὁ υἱός. ἀρχῆς γενέσεως αὐτῷ ὕτως οὐχ εὑρισκομένης, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς ἡμέρας.—*Sed tum cum,* Filius meus es tu ego

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ego hodie genui te, *dicitur ad illum a Deo, cui semper est hodie, neque enim est vespera Dei, neque mane, meo quidem judicio, sed tempus (ut ita dicam) simul se extendens cum illa ipsius ingenita et sempiterna vita ipsi dies est hodie, in qua genitus est Filius; sic non invento originis ipsius principio, sicut neque dici.* Comm. in Joan. p. 31. See more to the same purpose in Huetius, *Origenian.* p. 44. &c. Origen admitted also the eternity of the world, or of various beings eternally derived from God, and dependent upon him, and owing their existence to his will and power. This opinion was most generally received by the philosophers, and some Christians, perhaps, adopted it. But Origen proposed it rather as a philosophical problem, than as a doctrine. *Origenian.* p. 167. &c.

Eusebius says, that when the *Word* condescended to become man, his divinity was not impaired by it, but he was every where present, filling all things and ruling all things, οὐδὲ ἀποπεσὼν τῆς θεότητος. *Dem. Ev.* p. 169.

He observes that all things owe their existence and their perfections to the *Word*, and to the *Holy Spirit;* that the *Word* called even the angels into being; and that the *Holy Spirit* at the same time illuminated and sanctified them. Ἀγγέλων γὰρ τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρόδον ὁ δημιουργὸς Λόγος ὁ ποιητὴς τῶν ὅλων παρείχετο· τὸν ἁγιασμὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον συνεπέφερεν. Com. in Psalm, p. 125.

He says of Christ, E. H. i. 2.—ὡσανεὶ τῷ Πατρὸς ὑπάρχοντα δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν [ἰσοκλεῆ] καὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα τῆς καθ' ἁπάντων βασιλείας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐμπεπιστευμένον.—*ut Patris virtutem ac sapientiam*, honore ipsi æqualem, *et in regno ac principatu omnium rerum secundum locum obtinentem.*

Here Valesius, as a fair and judicious critic, shuts out of the text ἰσοκλεῆ, which was not in his manuscripts,

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scripts, and is a most manifest interpolation; and yet inserts in his translation, *honore ipsi æqualem*, for reasons which one may easily guess. This was what he ought not to have done, and what would deceive several of his readers.

I say nothing of *obtinentem*, which yet expresses not ἐμπεπιστευμένον. Ἐμπιστεύομαι is, *I have a thing intrusted and committed to me.*

H. E. iii. 6. Τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ παρανομίας τε καὶ δυσσεβείας τἀπίχειρα. Valesius translates, *Igitur Judæorum scelus atque impietatem adversus* Deum *Jesum Christum hujusmodi ultio consecuta est.*

Eusebius, to be sure, was very willing to call Christ Θεὸς, and hath given him that title an hundred times; but he has not called him so here. He calls him αὐτόθεον, X. iv. p. 468. that is, *verum Deum*, or *naturâ Deum*; not, as Valesius renders it, *per se Deum*. Neither Eusebius, nor indeed any of the Nicene fathers would have called Christ ἀυτόθεον, in the sense of *self-existing*, or *First Cause*. See the notes there. Οὐδὲ δύο θεοὺς ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὸν τὰς δύο ὑποστάσεις τιθέντα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἰσοτίμους αὐτὰς ὁριζόμεθα, οὐδ' ἄμφω ἀνάρχους καὶ ἀγεννήτους· ἀλλὰ μίαν μὲν, τὴν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄναρχον. Θατέραν δὲ γεννητὴν, καὶ ἀρχὴν τοῦ παντὸς κεκτημένην. Διὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς, καὶ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι θεὸν τοῦ αὐτοῦ παντὸς διδάσκει, ἐν οἷς φησι, Ἀνέρχομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ πατέρα ὑμῶν, καὶ Θεόν μου καὶ Θεὸν ὑμῶν.—Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς, ὅτε μὲν αὐτὸς παραβάλλεται τῷ πατρὶ, οὐκ ἔτ' ἔσαι καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ παντὸς Θεὸς, ἀλλ' υἱὸς μονογενὴς καὶ ἀγαπητὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, καὶ ἀπαύγασμα τῆς πατρικῆς δόξης· σέβει τε καὶ προσκυνεῖ καὶ δοξάζει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα, Θεὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιγραφόμενος. *De Eccl. Theol.* xi. 7. Thus rendered by Dr Clarke:

"It is not necessary that he who acknowledges the "Father and the Son to be two distinct subsistences, "should say that there are two Gods: for we do not "look

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"look upon them as two co-ordinate persons, both of "them underived and unbegotten; but one unbe- "gotten and underived, the other begotten and de- "rived from the Father. Wherefore the Son also "himself teaches us, that his Father is even *his* God "also, [as well as ours;] when he says I ascend un- "to my Father and your Father, unto *my* God and "*your* God.—But now on the other side, the Son, "when he is compared with the Father, cannot be "said to be the God of his Father, but his only-be- "gotten and beloved *Son*, and the *image* of the invi- "sible God, and the *brightness* of his Father's glory; "and honours and worships and glorifies his Father, "calling him even *his* God also, [as well as *ours*."]

Christus Eusebio dicitur αὐτόθεος ipse Deus, et ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς, verus Deus, *scilicet comparate ad homines qui aliquando dii appellantur: nam comparate ad Patrem, sive Deum universorum, non vere et proprie Deus dicitur, secundum Eusebii sententiam:*

Ait Filium πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων *et* πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων, *id est, ante sæcula, productum: nam sæcula et tempus omne cum mundo cœpisse cum multis aliis veteribus arbitratur, nec vox* αἰώνιος *apud Eusebium, pro æternitate ante creationem usquam sumitur: nam hujusmodi æternitatem in Filio evidenter negat.* Montfaucon *Prælim.* ad Euseb. in Psalmos, p. 24.

He says of Christ, πρωτείοις μὲν τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς, ΙΣΟΙΣ δὲ τῆς πατρικῆς βασιλείας ἐνδοξαζόμενος. *qui prærogativam quidem honoris obtinet principatum universi:* æqualem *autem cum Patre gloriam in Patris possidet regno.* Laud. Const. i. p. 719.

Here Valesius translates the text as it stands in the copies, for which he is not to be blamed, and as a fair commentator, observes in his notes that ἴσοις must have

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been thrust in by some transcriber, and that Eusebius wrote δευτερείοις. *In gubernatione quidem universi Filium ait principem locum obtinere: in regno autem Patris secundum.* The emendation is unquestionably right, and the reasons which Valesius gives for it are unanswerable. It is not the business of a critic or an editor to make his author more or less orthodox than he was.

In Socrates ii. 37. Valesius has twice *Deum et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*, where there is no *Deum* in the text, and where they who speak are Arian bishops.

Eusebius, Ἤδη γοῦν ὅλην Χριστιανῶν στοίχην αὐτανδρον ἀμφὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐν κύκλῳ στρατιῶται περιβαλόντες ὁπλῖται, πῦρ τε ὑφάψαντες, καταφλέξαν αὐτὴς ἅμα νηπίοις ἠ γυναιξὶ, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν ἐπιβοωμένους. *Certe urbem quandam Christianorum in Phrygia milites armati obsidione cinxerunt, injectoque igne totam una cum viris et mulieribus ac parvulis* Christum omnium Deum *invocantibus concremarunt.* viii. 11.

The phrase, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν Χριστὸν, is very remarkable; but as it is a manner of speaking which Eusebius hath never used in any other place, and which he has expressly condemned, I believe it should be, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν ΚΑΙ Χριστὸν ἐπιβοωμένους, *supremum Deum* et *Christum invocantes.* or, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ Χριστὸν—as *De Mart. Pal.* viii.—ὃς τὸν τῶν ὅλων Θεὸν, ΚΑΙ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμολογήσαντας. *Ib.* i. μόνον ἕνα Θεὸν, ΚΑΙ μόνον Χριστὸν βασιλέα Ἰησοῦν ὁμολογήσαντες. viii. 10. τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν καθαρῶς τεινάντες—τὸν μὲν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν—And in many other places which it is needless to cite.

These are not words taken down by some bystander, but the expressions of the historian, describing Christian martyrs, men, women, and children, all praying

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praying and dying together; and therefore we must expect to find the usual language and style of Eusebius.

See Dr Clarke *Script. Doct.* No. 539: who says—"All which by the way, clearly shews that the single "passage in Eusebius's account of the Phrygian mar-"tyrs who are represented as invocating Christ, τὸν "ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν, *the God over all*, must needs have been "interpolated with the word *Christ*, as being direct-"ly contrary to Eusebius's whole writings in a point "which he hath particularly and largely considered." I agree with him, that the place wants emendation, but I think my conjecture is much more probable.

Laud. Const. i. —Τὴν Χριστῦ βασιλείαν ὁμολογῦσι—πρὸς τὸν Κύριον γενομένης.—Valesius: *regnum* Dei *confitentes—cum ad* Deum *pervenissent*. De Mart. Pal. vii. He should have translated it, *Christi* and *Dominum*.

Eusebius says of the Λόγος;—τῇ τῦ Παΐρὸς καθωσιώμενος τιμῇ. *Male Interpres vertit*, dignitatis paternæ particeps, *cum vertendum esset*, devotus ac dicatus cultui Patris. *Similis est inscriptio illa, quæ in basi statuarum quas Imperatoribus dicaverant, vulgo legitur*, DEVOTVS NVMINI MAIESTATIQVE EIVS. *Cæterum hæc Arianum dogma sapiunt*. So Valesius, who translates the place right. Laud. Const. vi. p. 729. Ενθένδε ὧν τῷ τῦ παντὸς ἐνιαυΐῦ κύκλῳ, τοιαΐσδε ζοφίας ἡνίαις ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς ὧδε περιδησάμενος τὸν αὐτῦ αἰῶνα, ὑπὸ MEIZONI φέρεσθαι διεΐάξατο κυβερνήτῃ, τῷ αὐτῦ μονογενεῖ λόγῳ, τῷ δὴ κοινῷ τῶν ὅλων σωΐῆρι, τὰς τῦ παντὸς παραδὺς ἡνίας. *Ad hunc modum summus omnium Imperator, cum ævum suum totius anni circulo hujusmodi divinæ sapientiæ habenis adstrinxisset*, præstantissimo *Moderatori illud regendum tradidit, unigenito scilicet Verbo, cui, utpote communi omnium rerum conservatori, hujus universi habenas commisit*. Where Valesius says:

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Majorem *apellat Filium, non quidem ipso Patre, sed reliquis omnibus majorem intelligens. Ac fortasse suspicetur quispiam ab Eusebio scriptum esse* ὑπὸ μείονι

It is possible that μείζονι is the interpolation of some transcriber, who was offended at the word μείονι; But yet Eusebius might have said μείζονι, in the sense given to it by Valesius, and therefore it is not necessary to alter the text.

E. H. vii. 19. Τὸν γὰρ Ἰακώβου θρόνον—εἰς δεῦρο σεφυλαγμένον οἱ τῆδε καλὰ διαδοχὴν περιέποντες ἀδελφοὶ—*Sane et Jacobi cathedram—ad nostra usque tempora conservatam fratres illius Ecclesiæ jam inde a majoribus* magna prosequuntur reverentia.

Here Valesius, in *reverence* to this *old elbow chair*, and to holy reliques, chose rather to encrease than to lesson the force of the expression περιέποντες. Περιέπειν is *to take good care of any thing, diligenter custodire et curare.*

Eusebius in his first book against Marcellus, makes mention of the Trinity, calling the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν καὶ μυστικὴν Τριάδα, *the holy, and blessed, and mystical Trinity.* So likewise, in his epistle to Flaceillus, p. 57. and in the *Præp. Evang.* xi. Clemens Alexandrinus also says—τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα, apud Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* xiii. 13. and Origen vi. *Tom. in Joan.* προσκυνητὴν Τριάδα.

It hath been observed, that Theophilus Antiochenus, who lived in the second century, is the first in whose writings the word Trinity is used for the Father, Son, and Spirit. Αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι—τύποι εἰσὶ τῆς Τριάδος, τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς Σοφίας αὐτοῦ. *Ad. Autol.* xi. 15.

Eusebius censures Marcellus for teaching that the body of Jesus Christ should cease to exist after the day

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day of judgment. This is a question which, methinks, neither Marcellus nor Eusebius should have pretended to meddle with, and to decide.

" Father Simon hath made some remarks upon the " *Præparatio* and the *Demonstratio Evangelica* of Eu- " sebius, and upon the editions which we have of " those books. He commends the edition of the " *Præparatio* by Vigerus the Jesuit, which indeed is " the best and the most faithful. Yet there are some " passages where this translator softens the Arianism " of Eusebius. See L. vii. 12. and compare this ver- " sion with the original. The *Demonstratio* is not so " well translated, and it is by another hand, by Do- " natus of Verona, who hath accommodated Eusebius " to his own notions, of which disingenuity a speci- " men may be seen L. v. 3. in the argument, where " Eusebius says, word for word, *That the same pro-* " *phet, in Psalm* cx. *acknowledges clearly two Lords;* " *the one who is the first and the supreme God; the se-* " *cond whom he himself calls his Lord*, &c. The Latin " interpreter, instead of this, translates, *That the pro-* " *phet evidently twice acknowledges the Lord; once when* " *he speaks of him who is God and Father, and secondly* " *when he speaks of him whom he himself calls his Lord.* " In the Greek it is: δύο Κυρίους ἐμφανῶς ὁμολογεῖ. ἕνα τὸν " πρῶτον καὶ ἀνωτάτω Θεόν· δεύτερον, ὃν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἀναγορεύει " Κύριον.

" Eusebius endeavours afterwards to prove this " doctrine, in his books of *Ecclesiastical Theology*, and " against Marcellus of Ancyra, who was, if we con- " sider it well, very nearly of the same sentiments " which Christians at present entertain.

" I am surprised that there should be persons who " pretend to deny that Eusebius was an Arian, if

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" they have perused those books. It would be an " insincerity, which would give one a very bad opi- " nion of their probity. I had rather believe that " they never examined those books, or never in the " original." *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. et M. i. 169.

It is true that in a multitude of places he establishes the pre-eminence of the Father*; but in other respects he endeavoured to set the dignity of the Λόγος very high, as it appears from the expressions which I have cited, and I gathered as many as I could find.

The passages in Eusebius, which Le Clerc produces to shew that he was an Arian, are these; Οὐ γὰρ συνυπάρχειν φαμὲν τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρὶ, προϋπάρχειν δὲ τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Υἱοῦ· ἐὰν γὰρ συνυπάρχωσι, πῶς ἔσαι ὁ Πατὴρ πατὴρ, ἢ ὁ Υἱὸς υἱός; ἢ πῶς ὁ μὲν πρῶτος, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος; ὁ μὲν ἀγέννητος, ὁ δὲ γεννητός; δύο γὰρ ἐξ ἴσου ὁμοίως ἀλλήλοις συνυπάρχοντα ἰσότιμα ἂν νοοῖντο· ἢ ἤτοι ἄμφω, ὡς ἔφην, ἀγέννητα, ἢ ἑκάτερα γεννητά. ἀλλ' ὕστερον τούτων ἀληθές. ὅτε γὰρ τὸ ἀγέννητον, ὅτε τὸ γεννητὸν ἂν εἴη. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἢ κρεῖττον ἢ τάξει ἢ τιμῇ τοῦ δευτέρου ἡγεῖται, ὡς ἂν ἢ τοῦ εἶναι, ἢ τοῦ τοιῶσδε εἶναι τῷ δευτέρῳ αἴτιον γεγενημένον. *Non enim coëxistere Filium Patri, sed ante fuisse Patrem, quam Filium, dicimus. Nam si coëxistunt, quomodo erit Pater pater, et Filius filius? Vel quomodo unus quidem primus, alter vero secundus est? et alter quidem ingenitus, alter autem genitus? Duo quippe si ex æquo similiter coëxistunt, et æqualiter honorantur; intelligi datur aut utrumque, ut dixi, ingenitum, aut utrumque genitum esse. Sed neutrum eorum verum: neque enim essent ingenitum, et genitum; sed unum quidem primum et præstantius, et ordine*

* In which he followed Origen, who declared himself of this opinion on all occasions. See the *Origeniana* of Huetius. *Inter Christianos Doctores, qui ante Nicænam floruerunt Synodum, multi de Trinitatis mysteria parum caute locuti sunt*, &c. p. 36. Petavius says the same,

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ne et honore, secundum antecedit ; quippe quod causa fuit secundo et existendi et ita existendi.

Eusebius goes on :

Τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ μόνον ἀληθινὸν εἶναι διδάσκει δι' ὧν φησιν. ἵνα γινώσκωσί σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν. οὐχὶ ὡς ἑνὸς ὄντος μόνου τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑνὸς ὄντος μόνου, ἀληθινῷ Θεῷ, μετὰ προσθήκης ἀναγκαιοτάτης τῷ ἀληθινῷ. ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς Θεὸς μὲν ὁ Υἱὸς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀληθινὸς Θεός. εἷς γάρ ἐστι καὶ μόνος ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τινά. εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Υἱὸς ἀληθινὸς, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰκὼν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ εἴη ἂν καὶ Θεός· ἐπεὶ καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος, ἀ μὲν ὡς ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς Θεός. *Eundem autem et solum verum esse docet, per ea quæ ait :* ut sciant te solum verum Deum ; *non quasi unus solus sit Deus, sed quia unus est* verus Deus, *cum additamento pernecessario* veri. *Nam et ipse quidem Filius Deus, sed non* verus Deus ; *unus enim est et solus*, verus Deus, *eo quod non habeat ante se quemquam. Quod si et ipse Filius* verus *est, at sicut imago veri Dei, erit Deus, quandoquidem* et Deus erat Ratio, *non tamen ut solus verus Deus.* Epist. ad Euphrat.

In his Epistle to Alexander of Alexandria, in behalf of the Arians, he says ;

Καὶ καλὴγορεῖ αὐτῶν τὰ γράμματα, ὡς λεγόντων, ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γέγονεν ὡς εἷς τῶν ποιημάτων. οἱ δὲ προήνεγκαν ἑαυτῶν γράμματεῖον, ὃ πρός σε ἐποιήκασιν· ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐκθέμενοι αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι τάδε ὡμολόγησαν· τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ προφήταις καὶ καινῇς διαθήκῃ Θεὸν γεννήσαντα Υἱὸν μονογενῆ πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησε, γεννήσαντα δὲ οὐ δοκήσει, ἀλλὰ ἀληθείᾳ ὑποστήσαντα ἰδίῳ θελήματι ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον, ΚΤΙΣΜΑ τοῦ Θεοῦ τέλειον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἓν τῶν κτισμάτων. εἰ δὲ ἓν τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν γράμματα ἀληθεύει, πάντως δὴ παρὰ σοὶ φέρεται. ἐν ᾧ ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησε, εἶναι ἄτρεπτον, καὶ κτίσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ τέλειον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἓν τῶν κτισμάτων. ἡ δὲ σὴ ἐπισολὴ καλὴγορεῖ αὐτῶν ὡς ἂν λεγόντων ὅτι ὁ Υἱὸς γέγονεν ὡς ἓν τῶν κτισμάτων· αὐτῶν τοῦτο μὴ λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς

διορισαμένων

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διορισαμένων ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἓν τῶν κτισμάτων. ὅρα εἰ μὴ εὐθὺς πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴν δίδοσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐπιλαβέσθαι καὶ διαβάλλειν ὁρμᾶσθαι ὅσα καὶ θέλουσι. πάλιν αὐτὰς ἠτιῶ λέγοντας ὅτι ὁ ὢν τὸν μὴ ὄντα ἐγέννησε. θαυμάζω δὲ εἰ δύνασταί τις ἄλλως εἰπεῖν. εἰ γὰρ εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ὤν, δῆλον ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ γέγονε πᾶν ὅ, τι καὶ ἔστι μετ' αὐτόν. εἰ δὲ μὴ μόνος αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ὤν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Υἱὸς ἦν ὁ ὤν, καὶ πῶς τὸν ὄντα ὁ ὢν ἐγέννησε; ὕπως γὰρ ἂν δύο εἶη τὰ ὄντα. *Accusant eos literæ tuæ tanquam dicentes* Filium ex non existentibus factum esse, sicut unum ex omnibus, *At illi protulerunt epistolam quam ad te dederant, in qua fidem suam explicantes, ipsis verbis hæc confitebantur*, Legis ac prophetarum et Novi Testamenti Deum genuisse Filium unigenitum, ante tempora mundi, per quem et omnia et mundum fecit; genuisse autem eum non specie tenus sed vere subsistentem, propria voluntate, immutabilem et inconvertibilem, CREATURAM Dei perfectam, sed non sicut unam ex creaturis, *Si ergo literæ ipsorum vera profitentur, scriptum omnino apud te etiam eorum fertur, in quo confitentur* Filium Dei ante tempora mundi per quem et mundum fecit, esse immutabilem, et creaturam Dei perfectam, sed non ut unam creaturarum; *tua vero epistola eos insimulat, quasi dicentes Filium factum fuisse* sicut unam creaturarum; *cum hoc non dixerint, sed clare definierint*, non esse instar unius creaturarum. *Vide annon protinus illis occasio detur adgrediendi, reprehendendi, et calumniandi, quæcunque voluerint. Iterum eos accusabas dicentes*, ab eo qui erat genitum esse eum qui non erat. *Mirum si quis aliter dicere possit. Si enim unus est qui erat, manifestum est ex eo fuisse quicquid est post eum. Si autem ille solus non est qui erat, sed et Filius etiam erat, quomodo existentem is qui erat genuit? Sic fuissent duo quæ erant.*

Ὁ Ὢν τὸν ΜΗ ΟΝΤΑ ἐγέννησε, says Eusebius, with the Arians, The question is, what he means by Ὁ ΩΝ, whether

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whether the *Self-Existing*, or the *Eternal*. If he means the *Eternal*, he denies the *past-eternity* of the Son; if only the *Self-existing*, he only denies his *self-existence*.

Le Clerc charges him with shuffling in this controversy, and screening his Arianism under ambiguities: but why had not Eusebius as good a right to interpret the ὁμοούσιος for himself, as Athanasius, or Alexander, or other persons had, to put their sense upon it? The disputants were engaged in a νυκτομαχία, a *night-skirmish*, as Socrates justly calls it, and Eusebius seems to have been willing to comply with the Consubstantialists as far as he could, and to interpret the Nicene creed in such a manner, as to make it acceptable to the Arians; and the difference, at that time, between the two parties was of such a kind, that it was not easy to be exactly determined.

Le Clerc had a dispute with Cave, whom he charged with writing the lives of the fathers like a panegyrist, and not as an impartial historian, and with vindicating the orthodoxy of Eusebius, who, as Cave said, was a Consubstantialist, and, as Le Clerc affirmed, was an Arian. Amongst other things, Le Clerc complains that certain divines were far more favourable to the ancient fathers than to modern writers, and would excuse in the former what they would condemn in the latter; and in this there was too much truth. If any one had said to those patrons of Eusebius; You affirm that Eusebius was orthodox, and I grant it: will you then permit me to use the same language, and to speak upon the subject as he did? certain I am that he could not have obtained their consent, or escaped their severest censures and indignation.

"Although

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" Although Eusebius made no difficulty to acknow-
" ledge in the Nicene council that the Son of God
" was before all ages, and clearly rejected the im-
" piety of Arius, who said that he was made out of
" nothing, and that there was a time when he was
" not, yet was he very unwilling to admit the word
" *Consubstantial*, that is, to acknowledge that the Son
" is of the same substance with the Father; and
" when he assented to this word, he gave it a sense
" which will not establish the coëquality of the Son,
" since in a letter which he wrote to his own church
" to give them an account of his conduct, he speaks
" thus: *When it is said that the Son is* consubstantial
" *with the Father, the meaning is only that the Son hath*
" *no resemblance to the creatures which were made by*
" *him, but hath a perfect resemblance to his Father, of*
" *whom he was begotten, and not from any other*
" *hypostasis or substance.*—If One might justify Eu-
" sebius concerning the divinity of the Son, yet it
" would be difficult to defend his notions concer-
" ning the Holy Ghost: for in his *Præparatio* and
" *Demonstratio*, and *Eccles. Theol.* he affirms that he
" is not truly God. *The Holy Spirit*, says he, *is nei-*
" *ther God, nor Son of God, because he hath not his ori-*
" *gin from the Father, like the Son, but is of the num-*
" *ber of the things which have been made by the Son.*
" This shews that Socrates, Sozomen, and some mo-
" dern writers, have in vain endeavoured to excuse
" him entirely, and on the other hand that it is a
" great injustice to call him Arian, and head of the
" Arians, as Jerom hath done.——Eusebius was not
" author of any new formularies of faith, he conduc-
" ted no intrigues to ruin Athanasius and his par-
" tizans: he would much rather have been instru-
" mental

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" mental in pacifying and reuniting the two parties.
" —I doubt not but that his many amiable qualities
" caused him to be set down in the number of saints
" in some ancient martyrologies.—It is true that he
" hath not remained in quiet possession of this title:
" but, in my opinion, it were a temerity to judge him
" absolutely unworthy of it." *Du Pin.*

Eusebius testifies that in his time there were some slender remains of miraculous gifts and powers. Speaking of the miracles of Christ, believed by Christians upon sufficient evidence, he adds; ἐξήτασαι παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ βεβασάνισαι καὶ δι' ἑτέρων πραγμάτων ἐναργῶν—δι' ὧν αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν οἷς ἂν κρίνειεν, μικρά τινα τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως παραφαίνειν εἴωθε. *Exquisita sane hæc a nobis explorataque sunt, aliis quoque evidentibus rebus—quibus ipse Dominus noster etiam nunc iis quos dignos putaverit, exigua quædam suæ virtutis signa ostendere consueverit.* Dem. Ev. iii. p. 109.

Τίς δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅπως σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ προσηγορίᾳ, καὶ σὺν εὐχαῖς καθαρωτάταις πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνων ἔργον ἀπελαύνειν ἡμῖν φίλον ἐστιν; —εἰσέτι δεῦρο πᾶς δαίμων καὶ πᾶν ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα, ὥς τι τῶν κολαστικῶν καὶ βασανιστικῶν τῆς οἰκείας φύσεως, τῷ Ἰησοῦ τὸ ὄνομα φρίττει, ὑπεξίσταταί τε καὶ παραχωρεῖ τῇ τῆς προσηγορίας δυνάμει. *Quis autem ignorat nostræ esse consuetudinis, ipso Jesu nomine, et purissimis precibus omnem Dæmonum vexationem abigere?—Hodie quoque omnis Dæmon, omnisque impurus Spiritus ita Jesu nomen exhorret, ut unum aliquid eorum quæ ipsius naturam castigandi ac torquendi vim habeat, aufertque se illico, et concedit: tantam sentit illius nominis vim.* Dem. Ev. iii. p. 132.

" Constantia, the Sister of Constantine, wrote to
" Eusebius, to desire him to send her a certain
" image, which was supposed to be the image of Je-
" sus Christ; for Eusebius himself tells us that in his
" time

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" time there were to be seen pictures of our Saviour, " of St Peter, and of St Paul, and that he had seen at " Paneas a statue of Christ, which the woman was " said to have erected who had been cured by him of " a bloody-flux. Eusebius returned an answer to " Constantia, of which we have only some fragments " remaining. It appears that he would not send it " to her: but as to the reasons for his refusal, it is " not easy to comprehend the solidity of them. All " that can be said is that he endeavours to take her " off from contemplating the human nature of Christ, " and to induce her rather to consider his divinity. " But he seems to go so far as to say that his huma- " nity had ceased after his ascent into heaven, and " he hath been accused of entertaining this opi- " nion.

" The enemies of holy images have made use of " this letter, and they who have refuted them have " allowed it to be genuine, but maintain that it was " of no authority and weight, as coming from an " Arian.—It is certain that Eusebius seems not much " to approve the use of images; and yet himself gives " us reason to think that God approved of them, " when he speaks of the miracles which were said to " be wrought by the statue of Christ that was at Pa- " neas; for he dares not maintain that what was re- " lated concerning it was false." *Tillemont*, H. E. vii. 43.

Eusebius relates the story of the statue at Paneas, as an historian, and gives it with an ἔλεγον, as a thing generally believed. He adds, for the sake of those who had ears to hear, that the Gentiles, who received miraculous favours from Christ or from his apostles, might in all probability have honoured their benefac-

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tors by making statues and pictures of them, ἀπαραφυλάκτως, ἐθνικῇ συνηθείᾳ, *indiscreetly and according to Pagan custom*; which shews that he was no friend to holy images, and to image-worship, and that he foresaw the bad use which would soon be made of these representations. E. H. vii. 18. See also S. Basnage *Ann.* i. 307.

Nicephorus reviles Eusebius as an enemy to holy images, as an Arian, and worse than an Arian, on account of this wicked letter of his to Constantia. *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. et M. xxiv. 3.

" The second general council of Constantinople, " assembled by Constantine, whom the image-mongers " impudently called *Copronymus*, had condemned " images, and had made use of a passage from the " history of the apostle St John by Leucius, of which " here is the substance:

" A Christian called Lycomedes, had got a portrait " made of this apostle, who seeing a picture in the " house of his disciple, and not knowing whom it re- " presented, said to Lycomedes, What is the mean- " ing of this image, and for whom of your gods is it " made? I see that you have not yet entirely renoun- " ced the customs of the Gentiles. Lycomedes an- " swered, I acknowledge only one God, namely, him " who hath restored life to me and to my wife. But, " if, after that God, one may call *gods*, those good " men who are our benefactors, you yourself are the " god whom that image represents. It is you whom " I crown, it is you whom I love, and whom I ho- " nour, as the faithful guide who hath conducted me " to the source of all blessings. You banter me, my " son, said St John, you are not in earnest, and you " cannot make me believe that this is my picture.

" Then

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" Then Lycomedes having reached a looking-glass " gave it to St John, who discerning his own coun- " tenance, and comparing it with the picture, As the " Lord liveth, said he, it is true that this image re- " sembles me, but, my son, you have done a wrong " thing.

" The bishops of the second Nicene council in- " veigh, as we may suppose, against the author of " this relation, and against those who had dared to " make use of it. And indeed the witness was good " for nothing, he was an heretic and an impostor. " But as to the story itself, there is nothing in it con- " trary to the apostolical spirit, or to the faith and " practice of the ancient church. If it be not true, " it carries no small appearance of truth, and nothing " brings it into suspicion, but the relater. That is " more than can be said of an heap of authorities " and testimonies urged by these Nicene bishops, " where the facts are evidently false, the books cer- " tainly spurious, and the authors most impudent and " audacious liars. This will appear a little rough, " but it is very true, and there is no occasion to use " any ceremony with such disingenuous and dis- " honest men." *Beausobre*, Hist. de Man. i. 389. See also Fleury H. E. T. ix. p. 543.

Eusebius subjoined to his Ecclesiastical History an *Oration* of *Constantine*. It was composed in Latin by the emperor, and translated into Greek by a very bad hand. It is also full of faults : *tot mendis inquinata est*, says Valesius, *ut pene satius fuerit eam non extare*.

The Pagans, says Constantine in this Oration, may be convinced of the divinity of Jesus Christ, ὑπερ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν

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ἑαυτῶν λόγοις πιστεύωσιν. *Si quidem suorum* sermonibus *fidem velint adhibere.*

He appeals to the testimony of the Erythræan Sibyl, and therefore I believe it should be—τοῖς ἑαυτῶν λογίοις—*if they will give credit to their own* oracles. c. 18.

Thus much concerning Eusebius; to which it may be proper to join a few remarks on the ecclesiastical historians who are his usual companions, Socrates, Sozomen, &c.

"*Reading*, in his edition of the ecclesiastical historians, has joined to the notes of Valesius such observations of modern authors as he had picked up here and there. They might as well have been placed at the end of the book, since they are much inferior to those of Valesius, both for stile and matter, and appear with the same disadvantage as an ordinary painting placed by the work of an eminent master.

"Valesius dedicated his word to the Clergy of France, from whom he had a pension. He was sadly afraid of offending *certain persons*, who hold this maxim, That when an opinion serves to support a good cause, it may be piously believed, and it must not be attacked, be it ever so false and foolish." *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. et M. T. xvi. The misfortune is, that these *certain persons*, are to be found, and to be felt, not only in the church of Rome, but every where else.

Socrates was born early in the fifth century, and educated at Constantinople. He professed the law, and pleaded at the bar, and thence was called *Scholasticus*, the name which was then given to Advocates. He wrote an ecclesiastical history with much accuracy and judiciousness, and with much plainness and simplicity

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plicity of style, avoiding all rhetorical flourishes. He is suspected by some of having been a Novatian, but Valesius defends him, and acquits him of the charge, *Vit. Socr.* Yet he certainly entertained a very favourable opinion of that sect. See vi. 21. and the notes of Valesius. He was a prudent, cool, and moderate man, who made no scruple to commend what he thought commendable in Christians of all parties, and though he calls the society of the orthodox *the church*, yet he did not believe that all they who separated themselves from it were therefore profligate people and reprobates. As he was a lawyer, says Le Clerc, he had learned and acquired from the course of his studies a moderation and an equity rarely to be found in the ecclesiastics of that time. Upon all occasions he declares himself openly against persecution *, and appears a true friend to liberty, civil and religious. Only in the affair of miracles he was too easy of belief, and hath disgraced himself and his history by relating some foolish stories of the marvellous kind.

Hermias Sozomenus was also a lawyer. His style is rather more elegant than that of Socrates; but in judgment he is not equal to him. Being of a family which had excessively admired the monks, and himself born and bred up in Palæstine, and educated at the feet of those *Gamaliels*, he contracted a superstitious and trifling turn of mind, and an amazing credulity

* Julian, says he, did not attack the Christians with the cruelty of a Diocletian, and yet he may truly be said to have persecuted them; for I call it persecution to molest in any manner those who lead quiet and peaceable lives. διωγμὸν δὲ λέγω, τὸ ὁπωσοῦν ταράττειν τοὺς ἡσυχάζοντας. iii. 12.

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dulity for monkish miracles, and in this respect became, *magnus nugarum helluo*. He speaks of the benefit which himself had received from the intercession of Michael the arch-angel. ii. 3.

He and Socrates were contemporaries, and lived in the time of Theodosius Junior. As historians, they so often and so largely coincide, that the one must have transcribed the other, and there is reason to think that Socrates wrote first, and that Sozomen was the copist. See Valesius *Vit. Soz.*

S. Basnage concludes that these two lawyers could not have had much practice and many briefs, since they found time to write ecclesiastical histories. *Sozomeno in ea arte constituto multum otii ex causarum penuria contigisse eo liquet, quod ad Historiam scribendam se converterit.* Ann. iii. 395. His argument is both uncivil and inconclusive.

" *Theodoret* is, in my opinion, one of the most " valuable of the fathers. He is learned, he reasons " well, especially in his dialogues against the Greek " heresies of his times: he is a good literal interpreter " of the scriptures. I cannot help admiring his pru- " dence and his moderation, when I consider that he " ended his ecclesiastical history at the time when " the Nestorian quarrels began, in which he was so " deeply interested. But I fear, his zeal against " heretics imposed upon him almost as much as his " admiration for the heroes of the Ascetic life, with " whom he was charmed. Monasteries have un- " doubtedly sent forth great men into the world; but " these disciples of the monks contracted there in " their youth a superstitious disposition, which is " hardly ever thrown off; and the weak side of this

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" able man seems to have been an excessive cre-
" dulity." *Beausobre* Hist. de Man. T. i. p. 226.

Theodoret's learning and abilities were great, but he wanted the calmness, and moderation, and impartiality which are requisite in an historian. He cannot speak of the Arians, and of the emperor Julian, without losing his temper; he hath given a good character to some worthless men, because he thought them orthodox; and in the point of miracles, he was either credulous beyond all measure, or he judged it expedient to keep up devotion and piety in the common people by feeding them with legends suited to their taste.

Whatever was his reason for it, he wrote the lives of the most eminent monks, in which we find a beggar who died suddenly whilst he was acting the dead man to get alms from a saint, and then was raised to life again; an hermit fed by a lion, who used to bring him dates *in his pocket;* apples sent from heaven to the monks; a dead man declaring who had murdered him; Jews conducted by lions; the emperor's sick horse cured by a monk, who anointed his belly with holy oil, and made him drink some water sanctified with the sign of the cross; together with the marvellous exploits of Symeon Stylites, &c. A work how unworthy of Theodoret!

Dans ce sac ridicule où Scapin s'enveloppe,
Je ne reconnois plus l'Auteur du Misanthrope.

Du Pin mentions this book and these miracles in a way which shews that he gave little credence to them, and this might help to draw upon him a persecution from those who perhaps believed them no more than he.

Amongst the solitary saints celebrated by Theodoret, there was one who wore the same coat all his life,

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life, putting a patch where it was torn, from time to time. It would have been a proper subject for a metaphysicotheological debate in the fifth century, whether this continued to be the *same* coat under all these changes, and it would have furnished a fair opportunity for visions, revelations, and miracles, in confirmation of the *identity* or *diversity* of the *holy tunic*, and then for censures and excommunications.

In his writings against heretics of all denominations, he makes no mention of the Origenists, or of the Pelagians, whence it is probable that he thought them innocent. He himself hath affirmed that *infants are without sin*; which smells strongly of Pelagianism.

He attacked Cyril of Alexandria, and he wrote in defence of Theodorus Mopsuestenus, an honest and a learned man, who had the misfortune to displease boobies; and this is the reason why he is not called *St Theodoret*. But he is called Μακάριος, *the blessed Theodoret*, which is almost as good; and the title of *Saint* became insignificant, or rather ridiculous, when it was given to such men as Cyril.

Contra Cyrillum scribere, idem pene est quod adversus Synodum Oecumenicam cui præfuit Cyrillus. Itaque Nicephorus—diserte affirmat Theodoritum contra tertiam Oecumenicam Synodum scripsisse. Atque idcirco, tametsi de Ecclesia Catholica optime meritus fuerit, nec natalis ejus dies annua commemoratione honoratus est, nec ipse inter sanctos Patres locum suum habet in Menologio. Valesius *Præfat.*

Here we see one of the bad effects of a superstitious veneration for general councils. The reputation of Theodoret must be blasted, because he dared to oppose Cyril, Cyril who was Lord President of the factious council of Ephesus, and who disturbed the

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whole Christian world with his *quarrels* and his *anathematisms*.

Faucibus ingentem fumum (mirabile dictu)
Evomit, involvitque domum caligine cæca,
Prospectum eripiens oculis; glomeratque sub antro
Fumiferam noctem, commixtis igne tenebris.
Virgil. *Æn.* viii. 252.

Anathematismi ejus, si verum volumus, et obscuri sunt, et doctrinæ Nestorii peregrini. Eorum et nonnulli, primâ quidem specie, pietatem non redolent. S. Basnage, *Ann.* iii. 337.

Theodoret was accused of being a Nestorian; a dreadful accusation in those days, when it was a far greater crime to have thought Nestorius innocent, than to have worshipped Judas Iscariot, or an Egyptian monkey. But the Nestorian controversy was so perplexed on both sides, and involved in so many and so great difficulties, that the contenders should have agreed in tolerating each other.

Theodoret was contemporary with Socrates and Sozomen, and seems to have written after them both, for his history often supplies the deficiencies in theirs.

Porro de historia Theodoriti optime omnino judicavit Photius in Bibliotheca. Ejus stylum ait præstantiorem esse Socratis et Sozomeni stylo. Perspicuum enim esse et grandem, nec tamen redundantem, sed Historiæ rerum Ecclesiasticarum aptissime convenientem: nisi quod translationibus interdum utitur audacius, et, ut ita dicam, putide.—Illud præterea in historia Theodoriti reprehendendum mihi videtur, quod in toto opere nullam notam temporum adhibuit. Valesius.

Theodoret's character may be found in an epistle which he wrote to a man of quality, and a consul, in which

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which he thought it necessary for his justification to give some account of himself.

My parents, says he, before I was conceived, made a vow to God that they would consecrate me to his service, and they educated me according to their promise. After having passed my first days in a monastery, I was ordained bishop against my inclination. For twenty-five years I have so lived in that station, as never to be at variance, never to prosecute any one at law, or to be prosecuted. The same I can say of all the pious clergy who are under my inspection, none of whom was ever seen in any court of justice. Neither I nor my domestics ever received the smallest present from any person, not even a loaf or an egg. My patrimony I gave away long ago to the poor, and I have made no new acquisitions. I have neither house, nor land, nor money, nor a sepulchre where my friends may lay my body when I die. I am possessor of nothing, save the poor raiment which I wear. Out of the Ecclesiastical revenues I have built Portico's, and two very large bridges, and put the public baths in good condition. I found the city without water, and the inhabitants obliged to go to the river to fetch it. I built them an aqueduct, which supplies them plentifully. I found eight villages infected with the heresy of the Marcionites, and one full of Eunomians, and another of Arians. I have converted them all, yet not without incurring much danger, having been often assaulted, wounded, stoned, and reduced to death's door. *Epist.* 81. et *Epist.* 113. *ad Leon.*

Thus Theodoret was * extremely poor, and there-

* Augustin was as poor as Theodoret, and so was Paulinus, bishop of Nola, who had parted with great possessions.

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fore not qualified to contend with Cyril, who was rich, and drew over the * emperor to his side, by bribing an eunuch who governed his Royal Master.

During the Nestorian quarrel, when the emperor sent a letter to Theodoret, to let him know that, if he would not submit, he should be deposed and removed, he laughed at the threatening, knowing that he had nothing to lose, except his garment, and that some friend would give him another, and not let him go naked; but the Christians in his Diocese were all greatly alarmed with the fear of being deprived of him, and earnestly importuned him to come to some accommodation for their sakes. His Diocese was large, and contained eight hundred parishes.

Theodoret, speaking of the violent and cruel persecution raised against Chrysostom and his friends, says, *Porro quot Episcopi ejus caussâ pulsi sint Ecclesiis, et in extremos imperii Romani fines deportati, quot item Monachi eandem calamitatem perpessi sint, superfluum arbitror commemorare, et prolixam historiam texere: præsertim cum ea quæ tristia sunt, contrahenda esse censeam, et Auctorum* qui ejusdem nobiscum sunt fidei, *errata obtegenda*, v. 34.

But if Christians, giving a loose to pride, insolence, and revenge, treat their brethren and their betters with the utmost inhumanity, and do what an honest Pagan would blush to do, is an historian to spare them, and to draw a veil over their iniquities, *because they were orthodox?*

As I cannot commend Theodoret for this remark, so I think him very discreet for saying nothing in his History concerning Cyril, except these few words: *Erat eo tempore Episcopus Alexandriæ Cyrillus, Theophili*

* Theodosius Junior.

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phili fratris filius, qui patruo in Episcopatu successerat. v. 35. As he had been at variance with Cyril, he did well to pass him by without praise or censure, especially if we consider how many things he might justly have said against him.

A very ample account of Theodoret may be found in Tillemont H. E. xv. 207. Du Pin B. E. iv. Fleury H. E. and Cousin, who translated Theodoret's History into French; and they are all friends and favourers of this prelate. Father Garnier published an additional volume to the works of Theodoret, and dissertations upon his life and writings, with a view to insult him, to run him down as an heretic, and to censure him upon all occasions. If Theodoret had been a *Damasus*, a *Cyril*, a *Thomas Becket*, a *Kalendar Saint*, Garnier would have paid him more respect.

The fifth general council, at Constantinople A. D. 553, thought fit to condemn the impious writings of Theodoret relating to Cyril and the Nestorian quarrels.

Evagrius was a lawyer, and a pleader, as it seems, at Antioch. He wrote an history from A. D. 431. to A. D. 594.

Cæterum laudanda est in primis Evagrii diligentia, qui cum historiam Ecclesiasticam scribere agressus esset, quæcunque ad id argumentum spectabant, ex optimis scriptoribus collegit.—Stylus quoque ejus non improbandus est: habet enim elegantiam et venustatem, ut testatur etiam Photius. Sed quod præcipue in Evagrio laudandum est, ex Græcis Ecclesiasticæ historiæ scriptoribus, solus hic rectæ fidei doctrinam integram atque illibatam servavit, ut post Photium observavit Baronius. Illud ta-

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men in eo reprehensionem meretur, quod non tantam diligentiam adhibuit in conquirendis antiquitatis Ecclesiasticæ monumentis, quantam in legendis profanis scriptoribus.—Stylus præterea plerisque in locis redundat ac luxuriat, ut recte judicavit Photius. Valesius.

A fabulosis narrationibus non nimis alienum esse Evagrium scribit Casaubonus. Fabricius, *B. Gr.*

Quæ de imaginibus, reliquiis, miraculis, Evagrius multa habet, ipsius Historiam in commendatione non ponunt. S. Basnage *Ann.* iii. 921.

This is saying too little; for in points of theological controversy, Evagrius was an injudicious prejudiced zealot, and in the article of miracles a most ridiculous and contemptible bigot.

But then, as Photius, Baronius, and Valesius observe, he was always on the right side of the question, which is more than can be said of any other Greek writer of Ecclesiastical History, and which atones even for want of common sense, and sets him above Eusebius and Socrates; for *Socrates*, says Tillemont, *was a lawyer, and very ignorant of the spirit and discipline of the church. Hence it comes to pass that he commends equally either* Catholics *or* Heretics, *when they did things which seemed to him to be commendable.* H. E. x. p. 232, 233.

Theodorus Byzantius, *Lector majoris Ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ, duplex opus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ conscripsit. Primum opus nihil aliud erat quam Historia Tripartita, duobus libris comprehensa, quam ex Socrate, Sozomeno, ac Theodorito unum in corpus collegerat.—Secundum opus duobus pariter libris comprehensum fuit, quibus res in Ecclesia gestas ab iis temporibus in quibus desierat Socrates, usque ad principatum Justini senioris complexus est.—Utinam vero Historiam Ecclesiasticam Theodori*

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Theodori integram hodie haberemus. Multa enim scitu digna in ea continebantur: Consulatus quoque quibus quidque gestum fuerat, accurate erant adscripti, ut patet ex fragmentis.——Valesius.

Philostorgius lived in the fourth and fifth century. His history reached from A. D. 300. to A. D. 425. It is lost, in a great measure, and there only remains an epitome, or extracts from it, made by Photius, and a few fragments.

Philostorgius was an Eunomian: he censures the Semiarians, as well as the Consubstantialists, and defends the Arians and the Eunomians.

Narrat autem Philostorgius fere contraria omnibus Ecclesiasticis Historicis, laudibus extollens quos novit Arianismo infectos, et conviciis Orthodoxos perfundens: ita ut hoc ejus opus non tam Historia esse videatur, quam hæreticorum laudatio, cum nuda et mera vituperatione atque accusatione Catholicorum. Stylus illi comptior; et poëticis sine tædio, minimeque ingratis vocibus utitur. Tropi quoque ac verba significantia gratiam ipsi cum jucunditate conciliant. Nisi quod interdum audacius ipsis, vel nimium detortis utendo, in frigidum et importunum sermonem incidit. Ornatur ab illo varie oratio, vel ad satietatem; ita ut in obscuritatem, nec eam semper gratam, occulte trahatur auditor. Sæpe etiam sententias apte suis locis inserit.—Ipse vero scriptor mendax est, et a fabulis minime abstinent.—Miraculorum vero et vitæ gratia laudat Eusebium Nicomediæ Episcopum, quem etiam Magnum nominat, et Theophilum Indum, aliosque complures, &c. Photius.

In these extracts of Philostorgius, Photius often begins a section with, Ὁ δυσσεβής, ὁ φιλοψευδής, The *Impious Wretch*, the *Liar*, the *Enemy of God*, the *Dotard*, &c. says

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says so and so.—But this was the way of Greek writers in all times, as Cicero observes. *Sit ista in Græcorum levitate perversitas, qui maledictis insectantur eos a quibus de veritate dissentiunt.* De Fin. 11.

With all his defects, his credulity, and partiality to his sect (of which he had a large share) it is to be wished that we had Philostorgius entire; for he wrote the History of his own times, and of some persons whom he knew, and with whom he had conversed. It would not be amiss to have one Arian Historian to compare with the Consubstantialists. He had picked up several miracles wrought by Arian bishops. The Homoousians rejected them with disdain, and yet boasted of miracles equally improbable.

Theodosius the first was a warm Consubstantialist, and was perpetually making absurd and severe laws against heretics; yet Philostorgius observes that he was a prosperous prince, and blessed with success in all his undertakings, and supposes that providence thus recompensed him for his zeal against Paganism, p. 539. He also speaks very handsomely of Apollinaris, Basil, and Gregory Nazianzen, and observes that of all the Consubstantialists they were the most eminent for learning, eloquence, and elegance of style, and that Athanasius compared to them was a mere child, and a superficial writer.

Apollinaris, though ranked amongst heretics for reasons mentioned above, yet joined with the Consubstantialists against Arianism.

The laws of Constantine, most of which may be found in the Theodosian Code, are remarkable on one account or other.

Several

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Several of them are humane and charitable, and such as the spirit of Christianity would naturally suggest.

He and his successors made decrees which must have continually released multitudes from slavery.

He abolished the cruel punishment of crucifixion, and of breaking the legs, and of marking the face with a hot iron.

Si quis in Ludum fuerit, vel in Metallum, pro criminum deprehensorum qualitate, damnatus, minime in ejus facie scribatur: dum et in manibus et in suris possit pœna damnationis una scriptione comprehendi: Quo facies, quæ ad similitudinem pulchritudinis cœlestis est figurata, minime maculetur. Cod. Th. L. ix. Tit. 40. p. 293. et Gothofred.

The Pagans used to stigmatize themselves (but not in the face) out of religion. See Van Dale *Dissert.* p. 64. and Grotius *ad* Apocal. xiii. p. 1205, and the commentators on *Levit.* xix. 28. Soldiers were also stigmatized.

He made a law against gladiatorial shews, which however continued, till Honorius put an end to that wicked diversion, A. D. 403.

Cruenta spectacula in otio civili et domestica quiete non placent: Quapropter, qui omnino Gladiatores esse prohibemus, eos qui forte delictorum causa hanc conditionem atque sententiam mereri consueverant, metallo magis facies inservire, ut sine sanguine scelerum suorum pœnas agnoscant. Cod. Th. L. xv. Tit. 12. p. 395.

It would amaze one to consider how many lives had been thrown away in these combats. *Credo,* says Lipsius, *imo scio nullum bellum tantam cladem vastitatemque generi humano intullisse, quam hos ad voluptatem*

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tatem ludos. Mentior si non unus aliquis mensis Europæ stetit vicenis capitum millibus, aut trecenis. Saturn. i. 12.

He forbad the tax-gatherers to seize upon men's labouring servants, or oxen, for the payment of debts to the government. Even common prudence required this moderation, because such violent methods would have reduced farmers to a state of beggary, and so have made them for ever unable to pay their taxes; *ex quo tributorum inlatio retardatur.* Cod. Th. L. ii. Tit. xxx. p. 224.

Zosimus says that he oppressed the poor, and used them cruelly to make them pay their taxes; L. ii. but Zosimus was a bigotted Pagan.

He restrained exorbitant usury or interest, allowing at the same time that which was fair and reasonable. The clergy were forbidden by ecclesiastical canons to receive any interest at all, and the Senators by the civil laws were restrained from receiving as much as was permitted to other persons.

The fathers, who condemned all usury in general, did not consider that their scheme was practicable only in the *republic of ideas*, and that the Roman empire could no more subsist without money lent and borrowed upon interest, than without air and water. *Cod. Th.* L. ii. *Tit.* xxxiii. p. 230. See Barbeyrac, *Morale des Peres*, p. 144. and an ingenious Treatise *de Fœnore et Usuris* by G. Noodt.

He ordered that prisoners should be well used, and conveniently lodged, and made laws in favour of slaves and of debtors.

He appointed that poor parents should be relieved out of the treasury, to prevent the exposing and murdering of children.

He

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He made a very severe law against rapes, in which he decreed that nurses, who assisted in seducing or stealing away virgins, should have melted lead poured down their throats: a barbarous and brutish punishment. He is supposed to have ordered all who were guilty in this affair to be burnt and cast to the beasts.

His son Constans mitigated some of the severity of his father's edict; but appointed that slaves who were found guilty should be burnt. *Cod. Th.* L. ix. *Tit.* xxiv. p. 189. &c. and Valesius on *Sozom.* i. 9.

He restrained the frequency of divorces upon slight occasions, but admitted them for other causes besides adultery; and yet more liberty was taken by the Romans in the affair of divorce than the laws of Constantine allowed. *Cod. Th.* L. iii. *Tit.* xiii. p. 310. et *Gothofred.*

He exempted the clergy from the burden of civil offices*, which was often very heavy. This law, if I were not an interested person, I should venture to commend as reasonable. To this he added another, that there should be no more ecclesiastics ordained than were necessary; a proper caution at that time; and

* Julian abolished these exemptions and obliged the clergy to serve civil offices. His law is, *Decuriones, qui ut Christiani declinant munia, revocentur.* See Cod. Theod. L. xiii. Tit. i. p. 7. and L. xii. Tit. i. *De Decurionibus*, p. 336, &c. and Gothofred. Κληρικοὺς μέντοι πᾶσαν ἀτέλειαν καὶ τιμὴν ἢ τὰ σιτηρέσια ἀφείλετο. καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χειμένας νόμους ἀνεῖλε, καὶ τοῖς βουλευτηρίοις ἀπέδωκε. *Et Clericis quidem immunitatem omnem atque honorem, et annonas ademit: legesque in eorum gratiam latas abrogavit: ipsos denique curiis restituit.* Sozom. v. 5. Τοὺς ἐν κλήρῳ καταλεγμένους εἰς τὴν τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀνέστρεφε λειτουργίαν. *Eos qui clero adscripti erant, ad publicas decurionum functiones retraxit.* Philostorgius, p. 514.

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and in all times; for many reasons which it is needless to mention.

By a law addressed to the Roman people, he granted his subjects a permission to bequeath as much as they would to the church. Every one knows how these donations were multiplied, and how bestowed in process of time, to the emolument of the church, and, as the *canon law* assures us, of the state likewise; *Augmentatur namque Respublica in sustentando viros Ecclesiasticos, quorum precibus regna juvantur.*

However that be, *Hinc deinceps opes Ecclesiarum, et inter alias Romanæ*, says Gothofred. *Chron. Cod. Th.* p. xxi.

They who disinherit their children, grand-children, and near relations, for no fault, and leave their substance to pious uses and public charities, deserve to be treated as idiots and lunatics, and to have their will set aside as a *Testamentum inofficiosum.*

He is supposed to have given a civil jurisdiction to bishops, and to have made them receivers of appeals, and final judges in causes wherein religion was no ways concerned. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* iv. p. 295. and in the *Notes*, who thinks that this was a grievous burden upon men who were desirous of being better employed, and had things of higher importance to perform. See also Valesius on *Euseb.* Vit. Const. iv. 27. and *Sozom.* i. 9.

Synesius, who was a bishop, says, Πολιτικὴν ἀχρεῖον ἱερωσύνῃ ξυνάπτειν, τὸ κλώθειν ἐγὶ τὰ ἀσύγκλωστα. Epist. 67. i. e. *What hath an ecclesiastic to do with politics?*

"A law of Constantine ordains that the single testimony of a bishop shall suffice, without hearing other witnesses. This prince took a short cut: he judged

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" judged of *causes* by *persons*, and of *persons* by *dig-*
" *nities.*" *L'Esprit de Loix* ii. xxix. 16.

The old Roman laws shewed no favour to natural children. Constantine, to discourage concubinage, and to encourage matrimony in persons who lived together in that way, ordered that if a man married his concubine, the children which he had by her before marriage, should become legitimate; but for natural children he made no provision, and gave them no relief. Valentinian I. afterwards permitted a father to leave a small part of his fortunes to his natural children, and Theodosius junior confirmed it. See Gothofred *ad Cod. Th.* L. iv. *Tit.* iv. p. 351. &c.

The first council of Toledo, A. D. 400. hath this canon: *He who with a believing wife hath a concubine, is excommunicated: but if his concubine is in the stead of a wife, and he adheres to her alone, whether she be called wife or concubine, he is not to be rejected from communion.* " This canon shews that there were concubines
" approved by the church. According to the Ro-
" man laws, every woman could not be the legitimate
" wife of every man: both were to be Roman citi-
" zens, and of suitable condition. A senator could not
" marry a freed woman: a free man could not marry
" a slave; and the cohabitation of slaves was not cal-
" led by the name of marriage. But a woman who
" could not be taken for a wife, might be taken as a
" concubine, and the laws allowed it, provided the
" man had only one concubine, and was not a mar-
" ried man. The children of such parents were nei-
" ther legitimate, nor bastards, but natural-children,
" acknowledged by the father, and capable of receiv-
" ing legacies. The church meddled not with these
" distinctions

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" distinctions of the civil laws, but regarding only " the law of nature, approved every conjunction of " one man with a woman, if it was with one woman, " and perpetual: and the more so, because the Holy " Scriptures employ the name of wife, or of concu- " bine, indifferently. *Fleury* H. E. T. v. 120.

Libanius being distressed by a law made against bastards (for he confesses that he had one) says that Theodosius granted him a dispensation, or even repealed the law to favour him. *Liban. Vit.* p. 61, 62.

Si quis, says Constantine, *in orbe Romano eunuchos fecerit, capite puniatur.* Cod. L. iv. Tit. xlii. 1. See also *Novel.* cxlii. and *Leonis Constit.* lx. Pagan emperors had made laws against this execrable crime. *Digest.* L. xlviii. *Tit.* viii. 3, 4, 6.

He provided for the children of the poor out of his own revenues; and afterwards many charitable laws were made by him, and by Christian emperors who succeeded him, for the relief of the sick and helpless, beyond what had been done by pagans; though something of that kind must have been always performed in civilized countries.

Concerning the places called *Valetudinaria*, Νοσοκομεῖα. See Seneca *Epist.* xxvii. *de Ira*, i. 16. *Nat. Quæst.* 1. *Præfat.* and the notes of Lipsius, Gruter, and Gronovius. The temples of Æsculapius seem to have been a kind of hospitals; and doubtless the priests, who were commonly physicians, used their best endeavours to cure the patients, and the honour of curing them was ascribed to the God.

Pliny mentions the gall of a white cock, as a cure for disorders in the eyes; and an *old inscription* in Gruter informs us that one Valerius Aper, a blind soldier, consulted Æsculapius; that the God ordered him

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him to make a salve of honey and the blood of a white cock, and anoint his eyes for three days; that he applied it, and recovered his sight, and came to the temple and returned public thanks to the god, and that this happened in the time of Antoninus Pius. See Harduin on Pliny, N. H. xxix. 38.

He ordered that no woman of reputation should be arrested and forced out of her house for debt. *Cod. Th.* L. i. Tit. x. p. 57.

He made a law against delators, after his victory over Maxentius, with a view to settle peace and tranquillity at Rome. He ordered such offenders to have their tongues cut out. : *Illud sane et ex hac lege et aliis nonnullis discimus, Constantinum pœnas acerbissimas legibus indixisse, si quisquam principum, ut—vitia frangeret.* Gothofred, ad *Cod. Th.* L. x. *Tit.* x. p. 431.

He published an edict by which he declared himself ever ready to receive and hear any complaints against his officers, governors, and counsellors of state, which should be well-grounded, and promised not only to do justice to the sufferers, but to recompence them for their pains. *Cod. Th. Chron.* p. 25.

He made a law to punish adultery with death, which had not been a capital crime, in that sense before in the Roman empire. See the first Volume of these *Remarks*, p. 163. and Gothofred *ad Cod. Th.* L. xi. *Tit.* xxxvi. p. 295.

He repealed the Papian law. One of the corruptions which soon crept into the church, was a fanatical notion concerning celibacy, the recommending it too much, and the requiring it of several; for which the civil magistrate ought to have reprimanded and checked the ecclesiastics. The fathers began from early times to talk weakly and injudiciously upon this sub-

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ject, and to cry up a single life beyond measure. Augustus, to people the empire, exhausted by civil wars, and to restrain several abuses, made a law *de maritandis ordinibus*, which was called *Lex Julia*, and another called *Lex Papia Poppæa*, in which he encouraged, and enforced matrimony by rewards to those who should comply, and by heavy penalties on the disobedient. It may be right, where the exigencies of the state cannot be pleaded to the contrary, to leave persons more liberty in this than was granted to them by the laws of Augustus; but the good of civil society certainly requires that marriage be permitted to all, that it be accounted honourable, that it be attended with some privileges, and that the parents of a numerous family be considered, employed, and recompensed, *cæteris paribus*, beyond others, and in many cases have the preference. So thought, and so acted the wise Romans, when they were in their most flourishing condition; but in the time of Constantine notions were entertained, which afterwards helped to fill the world with drones, mendicants, fanatics, and imaginary dæmoniacs, not to mention other bad consequences. Ambrose affirms that Alexandria, Afric, and the east, where there was the greatest number of religious virgins, were therefore more populous than other countries, *De Virg.* iii. See *Sozom.* i. 9.

He restrained and discouraged, but did not absolutely forbid and suppress, the Pagan practice of sacrificing, and consulting the entrails of victims by the *Haruspices*.

The priests of the River-God Nile were *Androgyni*. Constantine commanded this scandalous order of priesthood to be suppressed. *Euseb. Vit. Const.* iv. 25.

What

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What could be the reason for which the Ægyptians honoured their favourite God in this ridiculous and obscene manner? I shall here offer a conjecture about it: *Quum multi Dii Paganorum utriusque sexus sive ἀρρενοθήλεις putarentur, Nilum inter eos fuisse numeratum minime mirum est. Ille Ægyptum rigat et serit, tanquam mas: ejus autem limus sole calefactus et fruges et animalia parit: hoc fœmineum. Colebatur itaque vel ab androgynis, vel forsan ab impuris nebulonibus qui muliebria patiebantur.*

The temple of Venus in Phœnice was a school of such sort of debauchery, and therefore destroyed by Constantine.

*Lucus hic erat ac delubrum, quod non in media urbe, nec in foro aut plateis positum erat cujusmodi multa visuntur in civitatibus, ornamenti causa ambitiose constructa, sed devium procul a triviis et publico calle, fœdissimo Dæmoni quem Venerem appellant, in parte verticis Libani montis consecratum. Erat illic schola quædam nequitiæ, omnibus obscœnis hominibus, et qui corpus suum omni licentia corruperant, aperta. Quippe effeminati quidam, et feminæ potius dicendi quam viri, sexus sui gravitate abdicata** muliebria patientes, Dæmonem placabant. *Adhæc illegitimi concubitus et adulteria, fœdique et nefaria flagitia eo in templo, tanquam in loco ab omni lege ac rectore vacuo, peragebantur.* Euseb. *Laud. Const.* viii. p. 736.

When Eusebius says, θηλείᾳ νόσῳ τὴν δαίμονα ἰλεοῦτο, he borrows this expression from Herodotus, ἐνέσκηψε ὁ Θεὸς θήλειαν νοῦσον. *immisit ipsis Venus morbum femineum*, I. 105. p. 44. But θήλεια νοῦσος in Herodotus means τὰ καλαμήνια, and they who think that it means something else, or

* Θηλείᾳ νόσῳ τὴν δαίμονα ἰλεοῦτο.

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something worse, are mistaken. See the commentators on Longinus, who greatly admires this modest and polite periphrasis of the historian; and an epistle of Musgrave *de hæmorragiis menstruis virorum*, in the *Philosoph. Trans.* MDCCI, p. 864.

Bacchus was ἀρρενόθηλυς. Διονύσῳ τῷ γύνδι—ἀφιέρωσαν ἐκκλησίαν, τὸ καλαγέασον ᾗ ἀνδρόγυνον ἐν αὐτῇ ἱδρύσαντες ἄγαλμα. *Ecclesiam Baccho Gunidi consecrarunt, simulacro ejus ridiculo et androgyno in ea collocato.* Theodoret iii. 7. Jupiter ἀνδρόξυνος γίνεσθαι, εἰ ᾗ μὴ τὴν γαστέρα, ἀλλά γῶν τὸν μηρὸν κυοφορῶν, ἵνα καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ φύσιν αὐτῷ πράττοιτο. ὅ ᾗ τὸ διθύραμβον κύημα ἀνδρόξυνον γενόμενον ἐκαίρεσαν ἐνύβρισε φύσις. *androgynus factus est, non in utero quidem sed in femore fœtum gestans, ut et ista præter naturam ab eo committerentur. Unde ortus Bacchus ipse quoque androgynus, utrumque sexum contumelia affecit.* Evagrius i. 11.

It appears from one of his laws, that the Pagans attempted sometimes to compel the Christians to join with them in acts of religion. He ordered such offenders to be bastinadoed, or if they were rich to be fined; which was not amiss.

By a law which condemns magic arts exercised to the hurt of others, he permits charms, and incantations, and such sort of tricks, intended for harmless or good purposes.

He made laws for the religious observation of Sunday, *Euseb.* Vit. Const. iv. 18. *Sozom.* i. 8.

Sicut indignissimum videbatur, diem Solis, veneratione sui celebrem, altercantibus jurgiis et noxiis partium contentionibus occupari, ita gratum ac jucundum est, eo die quæ sunt maxima votiva compleri: atque ideo emancipandi et manumittendi die festo cuncti licentiam habeant, et super his rebus actus non prohibeantur. Cod. Th. L. ii. Tit. viii. p. 118.

Before

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Before this law, he had given one, which runs thus: *Omnes judices urbanæque plebes, et cunctarum artium, officia venerabili die solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi agrorum culturæ libere licenterque inserviant: quoniam frequenter evenit, ut non aptius alio die frumenta sulcis, aut vineæ scrobibus mandentur, ne occasione momenti pereat commoditas cœlesti provisione concessa.* Cod. L. iii. Tit. xiii. 3.

Compare this with Virgil, *Georg.* i. 268, whom the legislator seems to have had in view:

Quippe etiam festis quædam exercere diebus
Fas et jura sinunt. Rivos deducere nulla
Religio vetuit, segeti prætendere sepem,
Insidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres,
Balantumque gregem fluvio mersare salubri.

Scævola, consultus quid feriis agi liceret, respondit, Quod omissum noceret. Macrobius *Saturn.* i. 16.

The emperor Leo repealed this law of Constantine, and published one more strict, *Constit.* liv.

Gothofred in his notes on the Theod. Code gives us the laws for the observation of Sunday, made from A. D. 321. to A. D. 425. by Constantine, Valentinian I. and II. and Theodosius I. and II.

He obliged his soldiers to repeat on Sundays a prayer addressed to the one only God. The Christians would have died a thousand deaths, rather than have addressed a prayer to Jupiter; and therefore this may be looked upon as a sort of violence offered to the consciences of the Pagans; but it must be considered that the pagans in general, the Roman soldiers in particular, were hardly troubled with pious scruples of this kind. They who used to worship their own worthless emperors living or dead, and their own standards, were not men who would have accounted this

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this any oppression or infringement of religious liberty. If any of them had hesitated, his comrades probably would have laughed him to scorn, and have said to him, as one slave in Terence says to another who seemed to boggle at perjury,

Nova nunc religio te istæc incessit.

The Christians at that time, being just delivered from persecution, must have had some sense of the odious nature of such cruel proceedings. Prudence also directed them not to terrify and provoke the pagans too much; and therefore Constantine declared that he would compel no man to receive the Christian religion.

The first imperial law in favour of Christianity, which was published by Constantine and Licinius, began with this reasonable preamble:

Ηδη μὲν πάλαι σκοπούμενες τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς θρησκείας οὐκ ἀρητέαν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ βουλήσει ἐξουσίαν δοτέον τῷ τὰ θεῖα πράγματα τημελεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῷ προαίρεσιν———*Jamdudum quidem, cum animadverteremus non esse cohibendam religionis libertatem, sed uniuscujusque arbitrio ac voluntati permittendum ut ex animi sui sententia rebus divinis operam daret.*—Eusebius, x. 5.

But the Christians soon learned to sing a new song, and to acquire a taste for *wholesome severities*. First they deprived heretics of their places of worship, then they forbad them to assemble any where, and then they fined, imprisoned, banished, starved, whipped, and hanged them, for the advancement of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and for the honour of Christianity. Such were the dictates of *public wisdom*. In the mean time the bishops, in their councils, made canons forbidding any Catholic to marry his children to Heretics, or to leave

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leave them any legacy, though they were the nearest relations.

The *laws against heretics*, collected in the *Theodosian Code*, stand as a shameful monument of the persecuting antichristian spirit, which brake out in the fourth century, and grew more and more violent in the following times.

It is the duty of historians to give an impartial and just account of such cruel proceedings, that people may be taught to love their liberties, civil and religious, and to beware of those who would strip them of these blessings, and also, *ut qui insontes damnaverunt, ipsi causam dicant omnibus sæculis*.

He ordered churches to be built where they were necessary, and even where they were not, as in places which were inhabited only by Jews, says Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxx. 11.

He condemned those who should βλασφημῆσαι Χριστὸν, *speak evil of Christ*, to lose half their estate, if we may credit Nicephorus, vii. 34. This was an imprudent and unreasonable law, giving too much encouragement to indiscreet over-zealous Christians, or busy informers, to accuse Jews or Pagans, or perhaps Heretics, of words spoken in the heat of dispute, or in common conversation. For the honour of Constantine, we will suppose either that this law was never made, or that it was made *in terrorem*, and never executed. Such decrees are beneath a *prince*, and only fit for an *inquisitor-general*.

Afterwards, under Constantius, the severity of the laws against Paganism was increased, and sacrificing, together with idolatrous worship, was made a capital crime, which without question filled the church with

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new Christians, such as they were; for there is not, I think, one pagan upon record, who died a martyr for his religion in those days. Under Honorius, A. D. 408. we find a Pagan confessor, one Generidus, an officer in the Roman army, who threw up his commission, because he would not conform to Christianity; but the emperor could not well spare him, and so would not part with him. *Zosimus* L. v.

He made a law against heretics, by which he forbad them to have any conventicles, and to meet together in public or in private to perform acts of religion. *Eusebius* Vit. Const. iii. 64, 65. *Sozom.* ii. 32. This was mere insolent tyranny; and Eusebius deserves to be censured for having spoken favourably of it; and yet he is forced to own that it made many hypocritical conformists, and nominal catholics. A fine acquisition! But Constantine, by commanding armies in his youth, and by his success and victories, and by being master of the empire, got a royal and military habit and disposition of giving orders in a very absolute way, and had no just notion of religious toleration.

He also commanded that heretical books should be sought for and burnt.

He made a severe law against those who should embrace Judaism. This likewise was unreasonable.

But we are not to conclude that all the laws of Christian emperors against paganism, heresy, and schism, were strictly executed. The contrary often appears: the Roman senate was much attached to idolatry, and Sozomen observes of Constantine, that he did not use to inflict all that he had threatened in his edicts, ii. 32. and several pagan writers, under Christian

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Christian emperors, declare themselves openly, and speak boldly enough in behalf of their old religion.

There is a law of Constantine, which shews that himself was not altogether free from pagan superstition, in which he orders the *Haruspices* to be consulted, if any public edifice was struck with lightning. See Le Clerc *Bibl. A. et M.* xxviii. 157. &c. Dacier on Horace *Carm.* I. ii. 3. *Cod. Th.* L. xvi. *Tit.* x. p. 257. and S. Basnage *Ann.* ii. 673. who endeavours to excuse the emperor. We may add to this, that a temple of the goddess *Concord*, being decayed by length of time, was repaired or rebuilt by Constantine, if we may trust to an inscription in *Lilius Giraldus*. Zosimus pretends that he built some temples at Constantinople.

Constantine was severe in his punishments, which shews that by temper he was disposed to cruelty. If any civil officer drew a matron out of her house by violence, he decreed that he should be punished not only *capitali pœna*, but *exquisitis suppliciis*, i. e. says Gothofred, that he should be burnt alive. *Cod. Th.* L. i. *Tit.* x. p. 57, 58. He appointed this punishment for various offences. See *Cod. Th.* L. x. *Tit.* iv. p. 406. *Vivicomburii porro pœnam et aliis pluribus constitutionibus, et facinoribus facile imposuit Constantinus: quomodo et alias idem in exacerbandis pœnis aliquando nimius fuit.* Gothofred.

To burn men alive became thenceforward a very common punishment, to the disgrace of Christianity. At last it was thought too cruel for traitors, murderers, poisoners, parricides, &c. and only fit for *heretics*.

One cannot help charging Constantine both with absurdity and with hypocrisy on this occasion. He thought it a barbarous thing to brand a malefactor in the

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the cheek or on the forehead, and he made no scruple to burn him at a stake!

The military laws enacted by him and his successors are pretty severe, and burning alive was one of the punishments for greater offences.

Perhaps it is impossible to keep up military discipline without rigour; but certain it is that the case of soldiers and sailors hath been frequently most deplorable, in their being so often subject to the arbitrary insolence of men who had not so much humanity as a wolf or a tiger; for a brute, when his hunger is satisfied, is not mischievous, but men who are cruel, are so, full and fasting.

The Christians, being blessed with an emperor of their own religion, were of opinion that the Divine Providence had in a signal manner appeared in raising up and protecting Constantine, and in destroying the enemies of the church. There is usually much rashness and presumption in pronouncing that the calamities of sinners are particular judgments of God; yet if from sacred and profane, from ancient and modern historians, a collection were made of all the cruel persecuting tyrants, who delighted in tormenting their fellow-creatures, and who died not the common death of all men, nor were visited after the visitation of all men, but whose plagues were horrible and strange, even a sceptic would be moved at the evidence, and would be apt to suspect that it was θεῖόν τι, that the hand of God was in it. But the case of the persecuting emperors and princes is still more particular, if we consider, first, the matter of fact, and, secondly, the prophecies concerning it.

Herod the Great was the first persecutor of Christianity, as he attempted to destroy Christ in his infancy,

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fancy, and for that wicked end slew the male children at Bethlehem. The miseries which befel this inhuman tyrant and his family are recorded by Josephus, and his calamitous death, and long and grievous sufferings before it, by a burning fever, a voracious appetite, a difficulty of breathing, swellings in his limbs, loathsome ulcers within and without, breeding lice and worms; violent torments and convulsions; so that he endeavoured to kill himself, but was restrained by his friends. The Jews thought these evils to be divine judgments upon him for his wickedness.

He left a numerous family of children and grandchildren, though he had put some to death, which in the space of about an hundred years was extinct.

Herod Antipas, who beheaded John the Baptist, and treated Christ contemptuously, when he was brought before him, was defeated by Aretas an Arabian king, and afterwards had his dominions taken from him, and was sent into banishment, along with his infamous wife Herodias, by the Emperor Caius.

"Of [*Salome*] the daughter of Herodias, it is related, that she going over the ice in the winter, the "ice brake, and she slipt in up to the head, which at "last was severed from her body by the sharpness of "the ice; *idque non sine Dei numine*, God requiring "her head for that of the Baptist's she desired; "which, *if true*, was a wonderful providence." *Whitby* on *Matt.* xiv.

Whitby did well to say, *if true;* for the story hath the air of a legend, was unknown to the ancients, can boast no better vouchers than Nicephorus and * Metaphrastes,

* As to this Compiler, we cannot help observing that he was not used according to his deserts by his contemporaries. The man's name

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taphrastes, and is not adopted even by Tillemont, H. E. i. 101.

Of all the actors in tragedy, Salome may seem to have been the least guilty, as she was a girl of fourteen years, and acted under the command of her profligate mother.

Pontius Pilate, who condemned Christ to death, was not long afterwards deposed and banished, and died by his own hands. "Nor ought it to be passed "over in silence, that Pilate himself, who condemned "our Saviour to death, fell into so great calamities, "in the reign of Caius, that he became his own exe-"cutioner, the divine vengeance overtaking him * "not long after his crime. This we learn from the "Greek historians." *Eusebius* ii. 7. and *Orosius* vii. 5.

The High-Priest *Caiaphas* was deposed by Vitellius three years after the death of Christ, which gave no offence to the Jews, who loved him not. Thus this wicked man, who condemned Christ for fear of disobliging the Romans, was ignominiously turned out of his office by the Roman governor. *Josephus* Ant. xviii. 4.

To these we may add *Flaccus*, the governor of Egypt, who persecuted, though not the Christians, yet the Jews in a most cruel manner, A. D. 38. "The "wrath of God overtook Flaccus. Bassus a centu-"rion, giving the signal to his soldiers, came upon "him and forced him away from his own table. His "effects were seized, and he would have been sent to "Gyarus,

was *Symeon*, and they surnamed him *Metaphrastes;* but they ought to have called him *Symeon Pseustes*, or *Symeon the Liar*.

* οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, *non longo post tempore*; which is wanting in the version of Valesius.

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"Gyarus, the most barren of all the islands in the "Ægean sea, if Lepidus had not intreated for him "that he might be banished to Andros. They say "that one night lifting up his eyes to heaven, he "cried out, O King of gods and men, thou art then "a favourer of the Jews, and they do not falsely "boast of being under thy protection! When Caius "had ordered all the exiles of rank and reputation to "be destroyed, and had particularly named Flaccus, "assassins were sent to dispatch him. When they "landed at Andros, Flaccus guessed for what pur-"pose they were come, and getting into an unfre-"quented path, he fled to conceal himself: but they "overtook him, and immediately some of them digg-"ed a pit in the ground, others dragged him into it, "as he was struggling and screaming, and stabbed "him the more cruelly for his making resistance." *Philo.* See *S. Basnage* Ann. i. 493.

Catullus, governor of Libya, was also a cruel persecutor of the Jews, and died miserably, about A. D. 73.

"Such was the lenity of the emperors towards Ca-"tullus, that their disapprobation was all the punish-"ment which he then underwent; but not long after-"wards he fell into a complicated and incurable dis-"ease, and died wretchedly; sorely tormented in "his body, and worse in his mind. He was "dreadfully terrified, and continually crying out "that he was haunted by the ghosts of those whom "he had slain: and not being able to contain him-"self, he leaped out of the bed, as if he were tor-"tured with fire, and put to the rack. His distemper "increased, till his entrails were all corrupted, and "came out of his body, and thus he perished, as "signal

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" signal an example as ever was known of the divine " Justice rendering to the wicked according to their " deeds." *Josephus B. Jud.* vii. 11.

The wicked and mad emperor *Caius* did not persecute the Christians, whom he knew not; but was determined to destroy the Jews with whom they were mixed, and blasphemed the God of the Jews and Christians, and wanted to set up his own image in the temple at Jerusalem, to be worshipped by all the nation. He was cut off by a conspiracy, and Petronius, governor of Syria, saved his life by it, for Caius would have put him to death, because he had delayed to execute those frantic orders. See Tillemont *H. des Emp.* i. p. 446, &c.

Herod Agrippa killed James the brother of John, and put Peter in prison: and the angel of the Lord smote him, and he was eaten with worms, and gave up the ghost. *Acts* xii. where Whitby says;

" *Examples of the like exits of the persecutors of the* " *Christian faith, we have many in Church History.* " *Thus Tertullian saith of one Claudius Heminianus,* " *one of their persecutors, that,* cum vivus vermibus " ebullisset, *when worms broke forth from him whilst he* " *was alive, he said,* Let no man know it, lest the " Christians should rejoice. *Eusebius saith of Maxi-* " *mian,* that sudden ulcers arose in his fundament " and secret parts, from which sprang an incredible " multitude of worms. *And of the uncle of Julian* " *the apostate, who persecuted the Christians, and tramp-* " *led upon the sacred vessels, Theodoret and Chrysostom* " *inform us, that he perished by this disease,* for his " *scrotum* corrupted and bred worms.

" *An instance like to this we have in Pherecydes* " *Syrus,* eaten up of lice, *for boasting of his great wis-*

" *dom*

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" *dom and his pleasant life, though he sacrificed to no* " *God at all, saith Ælian*, Var. Hist. iv. 28. *Diog.* " *Laert.* i. p. 75. 77. *See* Bochart *Hieroz.* p. 2. L. " iv. 23. p. 620, 621. *So also was it under the Jew-* " *ish state: for of Antiochus Epiphanes we read*, that " worms sprang out of the body of this wicked man. " 2 *Macc.* ix. 8, 9. &c.

Add to these the story of *Pheretimé*, from Herodotus:

" Nor did this wicked woman come to an happy " end; for as soon as she had returned from Lybia " to Egypt, after having taken revenge on the Bar- " cæans, she perished miserably, being eaten up of " worms. Thus immoderate revenge brings down the " displeasure of the gods upon cruel persons." *Herodotus* iv. 205.

Ananias, the high-priest, persecuted St Paul, and insolently ordered the bystanders to smite him on the mouth. And Paul said, *God shall smite thee*, &c.

Chrysostom and Augustin are of opinion that St Paul (though perhaps he had no such design) spake thus prophetically; *for Ananias, after having contributed to the ruin of his country by a powerful faction which he had raised, and which produced many calamities, was slain, after the revolt of the Jews, A. D. 66. with his brother, and fell, not by the arms of the Romans, but by another faction of the Jews, which was headed by his own son.* Tillemont, H. E. i. p. 274.

Ananus, the high-priest, slew St James the lesser, A. D. 62. for which, and for other outrages, he was deposed soon after by king Agrippa the younger, and probably

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probably perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. See Tillemont H. E. i. p. 377. &c.

Nero turned his rage upon the Christians, A. D. 64. Four years after, in his great distress, he attempted to kill himself; but being as mean-spirited and dastardly as he was wicked and cruel, he had not resolution to do that piece of justice to the world, and was forced to beg help.

Soon after came on the destruction of Jerusalem, and the punishment of that nation, and of their rulers, for rejecting the Messias.

Domitian persecuted the Christians A. D. 95. and was killed the next year.

Trajan, *Titus Antoninus*, and *Marcus Aurelius*, did indeed suffer the Christians to be ill used not through cruelty and tyranny, but by mistake and misrepresentations. These emperors had many great and good qualities, and nothing disastrous befel them.

Eusebius hath justly and judiciously represented the state of the Christians in those days: "Trajan "gave a rescript, in which it was decreed that Chris- "tians should not be sought out, but that if they "were convicted, they should be punished: by "which though the violence of the storm seemed to "be in some measure abated, yet ill-disposed persons "still found opportunities to exert their malice, "whilst sometimes the populace, and sometimes the "governors, were contriving ways to oppress us. "Thus the persecution, though it was not general, "was still kept up in different places, and many of "the faithful were exposed to various trials and afflictions

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flictions, and obtained the honour of martyrdom." iii. 33.

Severus, who was violent and cruel, oppressed the Christians, A. D. 202. His latter end was calamitous, he was weary of his life, he left behind him a profligate eldest son, whose temper he knew, and whom he ought to have put to death, but had not the heart to do it, for the wicked wretch attempted to kill his father, and afterwards slew his brother. All the family of Severus perished miserably.

Saturninus, Proconsul of Afric, in the reign of Severus, persecuted the Christians, and put several of them to death. He lost his eye-sight some time after, as Tertullian says, *Ad Scapulam*.

Heliogabalus brought a new deity to Rome, and intended to compel all his subjects to adore this god, and no other, or at least, to give him the preference to all other deities, and to make them no better than his *Gentlemen Ushers*, and *Valets de chambre*; which must inevitably have brought on a persecution of the Christians; but this vile monster was slain soon after by his soldiers, A. D. 222. *Heliogabalum consecravit —id agens ne quis Romæ Deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur. Dicebat præterea, Judæorum et Samaritanorum religionem, et Christianam devotionem illuc transferendam.*—Lampridius.

Decius persecuted A. D. 250. He reigned not three years, and died in battle. Pagan writers speak well of him. He seems to have distressed the Christians partly out of spite to the memory of his predecessor Philip, who had treated them kindly, and who is thought by several to have been himself a Christian,

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though surely a worthless one, and no credit to us. It is more probable that Philip was a Pagan.

Gallus persecuted A. D. 251. and was killed the next year.

Valerian, who had many good qualities, yet was not only an enemy, but a very cruel enemy to the Christians. He was taken prisoner by Sapor the Persian king, and used like a slave and a dog, and as no Roman emperor was ever treated, and died a poor miserable captive.

Æmilian, governor of Egypt, and a violent persecutor of the Christians, set up for emperor, and was taken prisoner, and sent to Gallienus, who ordered him to be strangled, A. D. 263. *Gallieno jubente dedit pœnas: siquidem strangulatus in carcere captivorum veterum more perhibetur.* Treb. Pollio.

Aurelian, just intending to begin a persecution, was killed A. D. 274.

Maximinus, the first, a persecutor, reigned three years, and was killed.

Diocletian, by adopting associates, and sharing the empire and the troops with them, took the most probable method to secure the lives of the emperors from the arbitrary insolence of the army, which with little ceremony used to kill one and set up another.

" To prevent the continual treasons of the soldiery, " the emperors associated to themselves persons in " whom they had confidence, and Diocletian, preten- " ding that the weight of affairs required it, ordered " that there should always be two emperors, and two " Cæsars. He judged that the four principal armies, " being

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" being in the hands of those who shared the empire, " would check and intimidate each other, and that " the other armies not being strong enough to make " an emperor of their own chusing, they would lose " by slow degrees the custom of electing; and lastly, " that the dignity of Cæsar being always subordinate, " the power divided between four for the secu- " rity of the government, would yet be in its " whole extent and in reality only in the hands of " two.

" But what kept the military men still more in or- " der, was that the wealth of private persons and the " public revenues being diminished, the emperors " could no longer bribe them with such vast presents, " so that the profit was not proportionable to the " danger of making a new election.

" Moreover, the *Præfecti Prætorio*, who for power " and office were in a manner the *Grand Viziers* of " those times, and caused emperors to be massacred " at their own pleasure, that they might take their " place, were greatly reduced by Constantine, who " left them only civil functions, and instead of two " made them four.

" Thus the lives of the emperors began to be bet- " ter secured, and they died in their beds like other " people, &c." *Considerations sur les Causes de la Grandeur des Romains.*

But if this change was advantageous in one respect to the rulers, it was detrimental in another to the poor subjects, who were burdened with an increase of soldiers and taxes. *Hinc denique parti Italiæ invectum tributorum igens malum;* says Aurelius Victor.

Tres enim participes regni sui fecit (Diocletianus) *in quatuor partes orbe diviso, et multiplicatis exercitibus,*

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cum singuli eorum longe majorem numerum militum haberè contenderent quam priores principes habuerant cum soli rempublicam gererent. Adeo major esse cœperat numerus accipientium quam dantium, ut enormitate indictionum consumtis viribus colonorum, desererentur agri, et culturæ verterentur in silvam, &c. Lactantius *de Mort. Pers. c. 7.*

Yet all these precautions did not protect the emperor and his colleagues from divine vengeance. At this time was the great contest between Christ and the Roman emperors, which should prevail. They were determined to blot out the Christian name from under heaven, and the persecution was far more fierce and brutal than it had ever been, and therefore it was time for providence to exert itself; and so indeed it did.

Diocletian persecuted A. D. 303. after which nothing prospered with him, he underwent many troubles, his senses were impaired, and he quitted the empire.

Severus, who was raised by Galerius, and therefore, like Galerius, not disposed to spare the Christians, was overthrown and put to death by Maximianus Herculius, A. D. 307.

About the same time, *Urbanus*, Præsident of Palestine, who had signalized himself by tormenting and destroying the Christians, met with his due reward.

" Immediately after the cruelties which he had ex-
" ercised upon Pamphilius, and whilst he was still
" in his government, the divine vengeance over-
" whelmed him. He who the day before sat in the
" judgment-seat, exercising dominion, surrounded
" with

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"with guards, and ruler of all Palæstine: he who "was the companion, the guest, and the most inti- "mate and honoured friend of the tyrant, suddenly "was stripped of all his dignity, and exposed to pub- "lic ignominy before the face of those who had fear- "ed and reverenced him. The whole nation beheld "their governor dejected, dispirited, poorly begging "for mercy, and shewing the meanest and most un- "manly behaviour: whilst Maximinus himself, "whose favour had filled him with vanity and inso- "lence, and whose affection he had obtained by his "barbarity to the innocent Christians, proved his "most barbarous and inexorable enemy, and, after "having convicted him of many crimes, and openly "shamed him at Cæsarea, condemned him to be put "to death." *Eusebius* de Mart. Pal. vii.

The ecclesiastical historian seems to have taken some pleasure in stigmatizing this inhuman and cowardly governor, in consigning him to everlasting infamy, and in sacrificing his worthless name to the manes of his dear friend Pamphilus.

Firmilianus, another persecuting governor, met with the same fate.

"It is proper to observe here how the governors, "as well as the tyrannical emperors, were punished "by God's providence: for Firmilianus, who had so "much insolence and inhumanity to the martyrs of "Jesus Christ, was condemned to die with several "others, and was beheaded." *Eusebius*, Mart. Pal. xi.

Maximianus Herculius, one of the persecuting emperors, was compelled to hang himself, A. D. 310.

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Maximianus Galerius, of all the tyrants in his time the most cruel, and the first mover of the persecution, was seized with a grievous and horrible disease, and tormented with ulcers and worms, to such a degree, that they who were ordered to attend him could not bear the stench. He then made an edict, preserved by Eusebius, in favour of the Christians, that they might pray to God for him, and he died, A. D. 311.

"The wrath of heaven fell upon him and afflicted "him with a disease which seized his body, and pene- "trated to his soul. An abscess was suddenly formed "about his secret parts, with a fistulous ulcer, which "preyed upon his bowels, and an incredible quanti- "ty of worms issued thence with an intolerable stink. "For before this distemper, he had indulged his vo- "racious appetite, and was grown extremely fat and "unwieldly, and the huge mass of flesh being totally "corrupted afforded a most hideous spectacle to those "who were about him. Of his physicians some "were put to death, because they could not "bear the suffocating stench of his body; and others "were still more barbarously condemned to the same "punishment, because the remedies which they ap- "plied to him were ineffectual, and they could not "remove an incurable distemper." *Eusebius* viii. 16.

Maxentius, an enemy to Christianity, was overthrown in battle by Constantine, and in his flight he fell into the Tiber, and was drowned, A. D. 312.

The Christians, who were thus delivered out of the hands of this tyrant, compared his death with that of Pharaoh. *Eusebius* ix. 9.

At this time there was a dreadful famine in the eastern part of the empire, where Maximinus reigned, and

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and a plague which particularly affected the eyes *, and took away the sight: upon which the Christians could not forbear observing that Maximinus had inflicted that very punishment on many thousand Christians, and had caused one of their eyes to be bored out.

The Christians signalized their piety and charity towards all persons in this public calamity, and forced even their pagan adversaries to admire and commend their behaviour. *Eusebius* ix. 8.

At the same time *Maximinus* and his army suffered much in a war with the Armenians, with whom he had quarrelled, because they were Christians.

Maximinus was defeated by Licinius; and he then repented, and made an edict favourable to the Christians, whom he had inhumanly oppressed and persecuted, and whose eyes he had put out. He died miserably, and upon the rack, his eyes starting out of his head, through the violence of his distemper, A. D. 313. All his family were destroyed, and his wife and children put to death, and with them many persons of rank, and governors of provinces, who had been his friends and dependents, and the ministers of his cruelty in tormenting and destroying the Christians, as *Pincentius, Culcianus, Theotecnus*. "Nor was his latter "end like that of illustrious generals, who fighting "boldly for their friends and their country, and for "an honourable cause, met with a death no less ho-"nourable: but whilst his army was drawn up in "the

* In the fifth century, there was a famine in Phrygia and the neighbourhood, and then a pestilence; *Ex victus mutatione in morbum delapsi, corporibus ob nimiam inflammationem tumescentibus, oculos amittebant: simulque tussi vexati, tertio die moriebantur*, Evagrius ii. 6.

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" the field, and ready to engage, he was lurking and " hiding his cowardly head at home; and yet he " could not conceal himself from God, who suddenly " struck his whole body with a sore plage, and in- " flicted a punishment suitable to his impieties. For " being tormented with the most acute and insuf- " ferable anguish, he rolled himself upon the ground, " and pined away by long fasting, so that his whole " form was changed, and he looked like a withered " and dried skeleton, or like a living sepulchre where " the soul was buried in a rotten and dead body. " At last, through the vehemence of the inward in- " flammation, he lost his sight, and his eyes started " out of his head; and yet still breathing and con- " fessing his sins, he called upon death, to come and " release him, which advanced slowly, and not till " he had acknowledged that he deserved what he suf- " fered, for his cruelty, and for the insults which he " had committed against Jesus Christ." *Eusebius* E. H. ix. 10.

Tarsum postremo confugit (Maximinus.) *Ibi cum jam terra marique perterreretur, nec ullum speraret refugium, angore animi ac metu confugit ad mortem, quasi ad remedium malorum quæ Deus in caput ejus ingessit. Sed prius cibo se infersit ac vino ingurgitavit, ut solent hi qui hoc ultimo se facere arbitrantur. Et sic hausit venenum. Cujus vis stomacho repercussa, valere non potuit in præsens, sed in languorem malum versa pestilentiæ similem, ut diutius protracto spiritu cruciamenta sentiret. Jam sœvire in eum cœperat virus; cujus vis cum præcordia ejus ureret, insustentabili dolore usque ad rabiem mentis elatus est, adeo ut per dies quatuor insania percitus haustam manibus terram velut esuriens devoraret. Deinde post multos gravesque cruciatus, cum caput suum parietibus infligeret,* " *exilierunt*

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exilierunt oculi ejus de cavcis. Tunc demum, amisso visu, Deum videre cœpit candidatis ministris de se judicantem. Exclamabat ergo sicut ii qui torqueri solent, et non se sed alios fecisse dicebat. Deinde quasi tormentis adactus fatebatur. Christum subinde deprecans et plorans ut suimet misereretur. Sic inter gemitus, quos tanquam cremaretur edebat, nocentem spiritum detestabili genere mortis efflavit. Lactantius *de Mort. Pers.* c. 49.

Eusebius, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, and Lactantius (as he is commonly called) agree that Maximinus lost his eye-sight before he died. In the circumstances wherein Lactantius and Eusebius differ, the preference seems due to Eusebius, as to one who might be better informed of the truth, and who was less inclined to embellish it with common reports.

"After this, most of the enemies of our religion "were despoiled of all their honours. All the rulers "of provinces were put to death, who had acted on "the side of Maximinus, and who, to please him, "had cruelly treated the Christians, as Pincentius "his principal favourite—Culcianus, who had des- "troyed so many Christians in Egypt—together "with several others, who had assisted in establishing "and supporting his tyranny.—Nor did the divine "Justice suffer Theotecnus one of our violent per- "secutors to escape unpunished."—*Eusebius* ix. 11.

A *Roman Officer*, (whose name Eusebius hath not recorded) to oblige Maximinus, oppressed the Christians at Damascus, and spread calumnies against them; and not long after he died by his own hands, says Eusebius, and inflicted upon him the punishment due to his wickedness. *E. H.* ix. 5, 6.

Licinius, the last of these persecutors, was conquered, and put to death by Constantine, A. D. 323.

This

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This worthless and stupid prince could not read or write his own name, and hated all men of learning as much as he did the Christians.

" His education, rustic, and suitable to his mean " and obscure birth, made him totally ignorant of " letters. He was a declared enemy to all learning, " and called it the pest and the poison of the state ; " but he had a particular hatred for the profession of " the law. He also took a delight in tormenting the " most illustrious philosophers, and in making them " suffer the punishments inflicted on the vilest slaves, " for crimes laid to their charge of which they were " innocent." *Tillemont*, Hist. des Emp. iv. p. 103.

Thus perished this foe to religion, liberty, and literature ; whose memory will not perish, but stink through all ages :

Καὶ λίην κεῖνός γε ἰσικότι κεῖται ὀλέθρῳ·
Ὣς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος, ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

The Christians had an illustrious friend and protector in *Constantius*, the father of Constantine, although he was a pagan. He lived highly honoured, and greatly beloved by his subjects ; his reign was prosperous, he died in peace, leaving several children, of whom the eldest succeeded in his dominions, and became master of the Roman empire.

After Christianity was thus established, the emperor *Julian* renounced the faith in which he had been educated, and oppressed the Christians, and endeavoured to restore paganism. But having reigned a short time, he was cut off in the midst of his days, and perished in his rash and unhappy expedition against the Persians. As this prince had his good as well as bad qualities, providence seems to have permitted him to fall in battle, and to die an honourable death.

They

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They who were employed or permitted by Julian to persecute the Christians, are said to have perished miserably and remarkably. Tillemont gives us the following account of them, faithfully collected from ancient fathers and ecclesiastical historians, which probably contains many truths, mixed with some exaggeration and embellishment; for such was the genius of those times, that doubt and diffidence is unavoidable, where angels, and devils, and monks, and miracles, and visions, and divine judgments are the subject. The apparitions of armed men, and the revelations which were made to Christians of Julian's death, may justly be taken in the lump as so many pious frauds.

"We have observed that *Count Julian*, with *Felix* "superintendant of the finances, and *Elpidius* treasurer to the emperor, apostates all three, had received orders to go and seize the effects of the church "of Antioch, and carry them to the treasury. They "did it on the day of the martyrdom of St Theodoret, "and drew up an account of what they had seized. "But Count Julian was not content with taking away "the sacred vessels of the church and with profaning "them by his impure hands: carrying to greater "lengths the outrage he was doing to Jesus Christ, "he overturned and flung them down on the ground, "and sat upon them in a criminal manner, so as to "commit actions which one dare not name, adding "to this all the banters and blasphemies that he could "devise against Christ and against the Christians, "who, he said, were abandoned of God. Euzoïus, "bishop of the Arians, who were still in possession "of the great Church, opposing himself to these sacrileges, received from him a blow on the face.

"Felix,

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" Felix, the superintendant, signalized himself also " by another impiety ; for as he was viewing the rich " and magnificent vessels which the emperors Constan- " tine and Constantius had given to the church ; Behold, " said he, with what plate the son of Mary is served ! " It is said that Count Julian and he made it the sub- " ject of banter, that God should let them thus profane " his temple, without interposing by visible miracles.

" But their impieties remained not long unpunish- " ed, and Julian had no sooner profaned the sacred " utensils, than he felt the effect of divine vengeance. " He passed the following night with much disquiet, " and the next morning he presented to the emperor " an inventory of all that had been seized in the " church, and then he informed him of what he had " done the evening before, with relation to St Theodo- " ret. He had done it with a view to please that " Prince : but the emperor told him plainly that he " approved not his putting a Christian to death for no " other cause than his religion, and in the very place " where he (the emperor) was, which would make " it believed that is was done by his secret or- " ders. He complained that this would afford " an occasion, to the Galilæans to write against him, " as they had written against his predecessors, and to " make a saint and a martyr of Theodoret. He ab- " solutely commanded him, not only to put no more " Christians to death, but to suffer none else to do it.

" The Count, who little expected such a reception " and reply, remained greatly confounded. The " emperor, to comfort him, told him that he should " go along with him, to sacrifice to the gods, and by " that means to obtain the remission of his fault : and " the priests of the idols having presented to the em- " peror some fowls and other food which had been

" offered

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" offered to the devil, he ate of them, and gave some
" to his uncle. The respect and fear with which the
" Count was seized, permitted him not to eat much.
" He then retired to his own house, vexed that he
" had done an odious action, and had also displeased
" the emperor, so that he would not take any nou-
" rishment.

" Yet the little that he had eaten would not digest,
" and in the evening he had a disorder in his bowels
" which gave him violent pain. He fell into a grie-
" vous and unknown disease, and his inward parts
" being corrupted, he cast out his liver and his excre-
" ments, not from the ordinary passages, but from
" his miserable mouth, which had uttered so many
" blasphemies. His secret parts, and all the flesh
" round about them, corrupted also, and bred
" worms; and to shew that it was a divine punish-
" ment, all the art of the physicians could give him
" no relief, though, on account of his high rank, and
" his near relation to the emperor, they employed all
" kind of remedies. They killed a great number of
" the choicest and fattest birds, and applied them to
" the rotten places, to draw out the worms; but the
" worms, instead of coming forth, entered deeper in-
" to his flesh, devouring all that was corrupted, and
" penetrating to the quick. They got into his sto-
" mach, and from time to time came out of his
" mouth, whilst to encrease his affliction, the very
" pagans made a jest of it. Philostorgius says that he
" remained forty days without speech or sense. He
" then came to himself a little, and his wife, who, as
" it was reported, was illustrious for her faith, and
" who had warned him to spare at least the lives of
" the Christians, represented to him that he ought to
" acknowledge

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" acknowledge and bless the mercy of Jesus Christ, " who in chastizing him shewed him his pow- " er; whereas if he had left him unpunished, and " used his ordinary forbearance, he would never have " known whom he had set at defiance. This miser- " able man, pressed by these remonstrances of his " wife, and by the sense of his pain, acknowledged, " that this was the true cause of his sufferings; he de- " tested the crime which was thus severely punished, " and bare testimony of his own impiety. He called " upon the God of the Christians, and intreated him " to have pity on him, or at least to take him soon " out of the world: and he pressed his wife to go and " pray for him at church, and to desire the prayers " of the Christians. But for all this, he appeared to " have been no more converted than Antiochus; " and he is said to have put to death several Christians " only three days before he ended his life. His wife " also declared to him that she dared not to pray for " his recovery, lest she should draw down divine " wrath upon herself.

" Yet he intreated the emperor to restore to the " Christians the churches which he had taken from " them, and to cause them to be opened: but he " could not obtain from him even that favour, and " received only this answer, *It was not I who shut them* " *up*, [except the principal church] *but I will give no* " *orders to have them set open.* At another time the " Count sent him word, that it was because of him, " and of having quitted Christianity for his sake, that " he suffered such grievous pain, and perished miser- " ably; to which Julian, without fearing the hand of " God, or shewing at least some compassion for a " person so nearly related, sent him this reply; *You*

" *have*

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" *have not been faithful to the gods, and it is for that* " *you suffer such torments.*

" At length the impostumes all over his body, and " the worms which gnawed him continually, reduced " him to the utmost extremity. He threw them up, " without ceasing, the last three days of his life, with " a stench which he himself could not bear. Thus " he ended his life by a shameful and miserable " death, passing from a punishment of many days to " a punishment of eternal duration. He died, if we " may believe Philostorgius, whilst they were read- " ing to him divers responses lately made by oracles, " all of them promising that he should not die of any " distemper. His nephew Julian lamented him as " little dead as living; and resolving not to give glo- " ry to Christ, he continued to declare that his cala- " mity befel him for not being faithful to the gods. " In one of his writings, he says of him, that he had " governed the city of Antioch with much justice, " but he immediately adds, not with sufficient pru- " dence. He there speaks of his death without ad- " venturing to touch upon any of its circumstances.

" The disease with which God visited Felix the su- " perintendant, was not so long; for it carried him " off in the space of a day, if not more speedily. St " Chrysostom says that he burst suddenly in the mid- " dle of his body, by which perhaps he meant what " Philostorgius relates, that one of his larger veins " bursting, without any straining, the blood flowed " from his mouth all the night, or all the day, ac- " cording to Theodoret: so that in the evening his " blood being all gone, he lost his life, as well as " Count Julian, and fell into everlasting death. Am-

mianus

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" mianus entirely agrees with this, saying that he " died suddenly, of a loss of blood.

" There was, it seems, a public place, where were " written the names of those who died, and the peo- " ple reading there the names of *Felix*, (a title usual- " ly given to emperors,) and of *Julian*, added that of " *Augustus*, as if it had been the emperor himself who " was deceased; and this was looked upon as a pre- " sage that he would soon be amongst the dead.

" Elpidius the treasurer, who with Julian and Felix " went to pillage the church, was also punished as " well as they, though a little later: for being con- " victed of having favoured the revolt of Procopius " against Valens, A. D. 366. he was stripped of his " effects, and shut up in prison, where after having " continued for some time, he died without reputa- " tion and honour, cursed of all the world, and sur- " named Elpidius the Sacrificer, or the Apostate.

" A fourth, who, according to Philostorgius, had " a share in the same sacrilege, and had shamefully " profaned the holy altar, was instantly punished like " Count Julian; for those parts of his body which " had been abused in committing his crime were ul- " cerated, and the worms which bred in them de- " stroyed him miserably.

" The justice of God was also made manifest by " many punishments of the same kind inflicted on " other apostates; and it may not be amiss to collect " what history hath said concerning it.

" One who was called *Hero*, a native of Thebes in " Egypt, and bishop of that place, as the Alexandrian " Chronicle seems to say, having voluntarily renoun- " ced the Faith at Antioch, was instantly seized with

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" a disease which corrupted all his body and made " him an hideous spectacle, and a dreadful example " of divine justice. He was seen lying in the streets " and public places, deprived of all assistance, and " even of the pity and compassion of the beholders. " The Christians abhorred his perfidy, and the Pa- " gans, after they had seduced him, shewed him no " regard. Thus he expired miserably in the sight of " all the world.

" *Theotecnus*, a presbyter of Antioch, fell voluntarily into the same crime, deluded by fair promises, " and was punished as instantly and as severely as " Hero. His flesh in a short time was corrupted and " over-run with worms, and he lost his sight. At " last he went mad, and bit and devoured his own " tongue, and from these torments passed to others " far more terrible.

" We must not omit the punishment which befel " one *Thalassius*, a man famous for his impurities and " debauchery, who is said even to have prostituted " his own daughter. He died buried under the " ruins of his house which fell upon him. Theopha- " nus assures us that his wife and all his household " who professed Christianity, were preserved from " this disaster, and a child of seven years old being " asked how he had escaped, answered that he was " carried out by an angel.—The Alexandrian Chro- " nicle places the death of Theotecnus, Hero, and " Thalassius in the year 363.——

" St Gregory Nazianzen marks out in general the " stories which we have related, and adds divers " particularities, but without naming the persons. " Who, says he, could describe the tragical accidents, " the diseases, the different plagues and punishments,

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" with which divine justice visited the impious, each " of them in a manner suitable to his crime? Some " burst asunder in the sight of all men, others were " taken off by extraordinary deaths. In the midst " of their torments they confessed their crimes with " a fruitless and unavailing grief. Some by dreams " of the night, others by visions of the day, had their " impiety set before them. Who, I say, could enu- " merate all the calamities by which God in a visible " manner avenged the demolition of the churches, the " injuries done to the holy table, the profanation of " the sacred vessels, and the cruel usage of the ser- " vants of Jesus Christ?" H. E. vii. 395.

A deacon, called Cyril, in the time of Constantius, had signalized himself by destroying several images of the gods at Heliopolis. The *Pagans* were so enraged at this, that when Julian reigned, they seized and slew Cyril, and ripped open his belly, and ate his liver. The divine vengeance pursued all those who had been guilty of this crime; their teeth came out, their tongues rotted, and they lost their sight. So says Theodoret, iii. 7.

Valens, who was made emperor A. D. 364. was a Christian; but being of the Arian party, and of a cruel temper, he became a persecutor of the Consubstantialists. Fourscore presbyters came to him to complain of the ill usage which they had received from the Arians, whereupon it is reported that he caused them to be put to sea, and burnt alive in the ship. Afterwards, in a battle with the Goths, he was defeated, and wounded, and fled to a cottage, where he was burnt alive, as most historians relate.

All

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All agree that he perished. See *Socrates* iv. 16. 38. and the notes.

The Consubstantialists called his death a judgment: but if so, it was rather a punishment of his cruelty, than of his heresy; of his cruelty which was exercised not only on the party which he disliked, but on all his subjects.

A. D. 394. Theodosius, after having been almost defeated, and reduced to great distress, obtained a signal victory over Eugenius, which was generally thought to have been by a particular providence, commanding the storms to fight for him. So say Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Rufinus, Ambrose, Augustin, Orosius, &c. and it is thus elegantly represented by Claudian, though he was a pagan:

Te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis
Obruit adversas acies, revolutaque tela
Vertit in auctores, et turbine repulit hastas.
O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hiemes; cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti!

The Christians to this added other embellishments suitable to the taste of those times, as that the victory was foretold by cœlestial visions, dreams, and dæmoniacs, and obtained by the aid of John the Baptist, the tutelar saint of Theodosius.

Supposing it to have been the effect of a particular providence, which might be the case, good reasons might be assigned for it:

Arbogastes, a general, and a man of great authority, basely murdered his young emperor Valentinian II. and set up Eugenius in his place. Arbogastes was a Pagan and an enemy to Christianity, and Eu-

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genius the usurper was a sort of * nominal Christian, who took every step to endear himself to the Pagans, and from whose favour they expected great things. We may therefore look upon this war as upon a struggle between Paganism and Christianity, in which the latter, by God's blessing, was superior, without ascribing the success to the orthodoxy of the emperor, and to the intervention of saints. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 356. &c.

Theodosius, when he was to engage with Eugenius, shut himself in a church one night, to pray, and falling asleep, he saw in a vision two men in white apparel, on white horses, who promised him that they would assist him; the one was St Philip the apostle, and the other St John the evangelist. *Theodoret*, v. 24.

In Tillemont's *Hist. des Emp.* T. v. this important vision is represented *en taille-douce*, in a print, in the frontispiece, as the most signal occurrence in the fourth century.

The story seems to have been borrowed from the old Pagan story of Castor and Pollux, who fought for the Romans, and appeared *equis candidus insidentes*, as the Roman historians inform us. The only thing wanting to compleat the parallel was, that the apostles should have stroked the emperor's beard, and turned it red.

Whilst the battle was fought, a dæmoniac at Constantinople was raised up in the air, and began to curse John the Baptist, and to reproach him that he had been beheaded, and to scream out, It is you who conquer me and destroy my army. *Sozom.* vii. 24.

Either

* Philostorgius says that he was a Pagan, p. 538.

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Either the devil and Sozomen, or else Theodoret seem to have made a mistake, for the two first ascribe the victory to John the Baptist, and the third to John the Evangelist.

The last Pagan prince who was a formidable enemy to Christianity was *Radagaisus*, a king of the Goths. He threatened no less than the ruin of the Roman empire, and invaded it with an army, as it is said, of four hundred thousand men, about A. D. 405. The Romans were saved from the hand of this barbarian, and slew him, and obtained a most signal victory, which they ascribed to a particular providence. Tillemont has collected with his usual accuracy what is recorded concerning this great deliverance. *Hist. des Emp.* v. 538. S. Basnage also hath given a large account of it, *Annal.* iii. 212.

Radagaisus had vowed to sacrifice all the Romans to his gods. The Pagans in Rome and in Italy, who still were numerous, imputed these calamities to the introduction of Christianity, and to the suppression of Paganism, and were disposed to rebel and to re-establish their old religious rites.

But the Romans, commanded by Stilicho, obtained a complete victory, without any loss of men, and Radagaisus, together with his sons, was taken prisoner, and put to death.

Baronius assures us that the victory was owing to the assistance of Ambrose, though Augustin, and Orosius, who give the glory of it to God, might have taught him better.

If bigotry and political godliness did not eat up all shame, Christians would not presume to ascribe a wonderful deliverance to Ambrose, rather than to Je-

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sus Christ, upon the authority of an obscure mortal, one Paulinus, who wrote a life of Ambrose full of lying miracles, and who yet has not affirmed it.

But, it seems, the divine providence can do nothing without the intercession of saints. *Radagaisus besieged Florence. This city was reduced to the utmost straits, when saint Ambrose, who had once retired thither, (and who had now been dead nine years) appeared to a person of the house where he had lodged, and promised him that the city should be delivered from the enemy on the next day. The man told it to the inhabitants, who took courage, and resumed the hopes which they had quite lost: and on the next day came Stilicho with his army. Paulinus, who relates this, learned it from a lady who lived at Florence. And this proves what Saint Paulinus says, that God granted the preservation of the Romans to the prayers of Saint Peter, Saint Paul, and the other martyrs and confessors who were honoured by the church throughout the empire.* Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. p. 540.

One might have asked Saint Paulinus, the bishop of Nola, Where wast *thou*, when the apostles and martyrs made supplication for the Romans? Didst thou stand by and hear them? Say no more about it, but go thy ways and cut chips out of *the cross*, which, as thou hast told us, *grows again as fast as it is diminished.*

Hunneric, the Vandal, was an Arian, a cruel prince, and a most inhuman persecutor of the Consubstantialists, A. D. 484. This barbarian spared not even those of his own sect, or his own friends and kindred. His end, as historians relate, was suitable to his iniquities, and such as he would have equally deserved, if

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if he had been a Consubstantialist, and had destroyed the Arians. His sufferings, supposing them to be divine judgments, prove nothing at all as to the controversy: but only this, that God hates tyranny and cruelty, the wickedness of which is a clear and uncontested point.

Dum diris cruciatibus Ecclesiam Africanam lacerat Hunnericus, sensit non mortalibus, sed Christo injuriam se fecisse, elementis ipsis primum ad pœnas impio irrogandas festinantibus. Pluviâ negatâ, remansit lurida terræ facies: nullis arbores frondibus, nullis segetibus tellus cooperiebatur. Lues gravem animalibus et hominibus cladem immittebat. Juvenum, senum, adolescentium, adolescentularum, puerorum agmina simul et funera passim diffundebantur. Catervatim Carthaginem confluebant animata cadavera. Miseros ea urbe pelli Rex e vestigio jubet, ne contagio deficientium commune pararet etiam exercitui ejus sepulchrum. *Neque multo post regio corpori horrenda pœna irrogatur, quam Victoris verbis referemus:* Tenuit sceleratissimus Hunnericus dominationem regni, annis septem, mensibus decem, meritorum suorum mortem consummans. Nam putrefactum et ebulliens vermibus non corpus, sed partes corporis ejus videntur esse sepultæ. *Multa de suo, vel ex falso rumore petita, tragicæ Hunnerici morti addidit Gregorius Turonensis:* Hunnericus post tantum facinus arreptus a Dæmone, qui diu de Sanctorum sanguine pastus erat, propriis se morsibus laniabat. In quo etiam cruciatu vitam indignam justa morte finivit.

Dirum magni regis supplicium ubique locorum clamat,
Discite justitiam moniti, nec temnite Christum.

S. Basnage Ann. iii. p. 570.

There

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There is nothing improbable in Victor's account; but yet he is a writer who deals so much in the marvellous, that there is no trusting him. More credit ought to be given to the excellent Thuanus, who thus represents the barbarities and the death of some modern persecutors.

In the reign of Francis the first, the remainders of the *Vaudois* were massacred by the French Catholics with the utmost brutality. "The baron *D'Oppede*, "who conducted the affair, was called to account for "it, and was screened and protected by some great men; "but not long after, this inhuman wretch was seized "with racking pains in his bowels, and died in most mi- "serable anguish, and God who suffered him to escape "the punishment which his judges ought to have in- "flicted upon him, punished him himself in a severer "manner."

A Roman monk, called *John*, signalized himself at that time in persecuting these poor innocent people. "He invented a new kind of torment; he put their "legs into boots full of boiling tallow, and then "laughing at them, he asked them, if they were not "well equipped for their journey.—Having heard "that the parliament of Aix, by orders from the king, "had condemned him, he fled to Avignon, where "being screened from men, and from human courts "of justice, he could not escape divine vengeance. "He was stripped of all his effects by his domestics, "and reduced to a state of beggary: his body was "covered all over with loathsome ulcers, and he lived "long in this horrible condition, often wishing for "death, which came not till he had endured dread- "ful torments." See Le Clerc, *Bibl. Ch.* xxvii. 1.

Philip

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Philip de Comines, who wrote the history of *Lewis the Eleventh* of France, could not avoid observing that the divine vengeance was conspicuous in returning to this most wicked prince the evil which he had inflicted upon others, and in making his punishment suitable to his offences. Many memorable and striking instances of this kind might be produced from modern historians.

In the scriptures there are examples of saints as well as of sinners, who suffered in this life according to the law of retaliation. St Paul was consenting to the stoning of Stephen, and though God forgave him, yet he permitted him to be used by the Jews, as he and the Jews had used Stephen and other Christians, and he was banished, imprisoned, beaten, scourged, and three times stoned.

It is observable that from the beginning of the reign of Tiberius down to Constantine, the Romans, even omitting the colleagues of the emperors, and those usurpers who set themselves up against them, had no less than *thirty-seven* emperors, whose reigns, one with another, amount only to *seven* years for each. Take the same space of time in the English History from William the conqueror, and you have no more than *eleven* kings and their reigns will be of *twenty-seven* years, one with another.

This very quick succession of the Roman emperors for the first three centuries, the violent and untimely death by which many of them perished, the empire often falling into the hands of persons not related to their predecessors, but their enemies and rivals, and not disposed to adopt their private views and animosities, was of singular advantage to Christianity, and made the persecutions less violent and less lasting than they

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they would else have been, and may very reasonably be looked upon as providential.

Let us now see what the prophets have delivered concerning these events.

The hundred and tenth Psalm is a direct and literal prophecy of Christ:

1. *The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.*

2. *The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies.*

3. *Thy people* shall be *willing in the day of thy power, in the beauties of holiness from the womb of the morning: thou hast the dew of thy youth.*

4. *The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.*

5. *The Lord at thy right hand shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath.*

6. *He shall judge among the heathen, he shall fill* the places *with the dead bodies: he shall wound the heads over many countries.*

7. *He shall drink of the brook in the way; therefore shall he lift up his head.*

The second psalm is of the same kind:

1. *Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?*

2. *The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take council together, against the Lord, and against his anointed,* saying,

3. *Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us.*

4. *He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision.*

5. *Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure.*

6. *Yet*

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6. *Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion.*

7. *I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou* art *my Son, this day have I begotten thee.*

8. *Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen* for *thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth* for *thy possession.*

9. *Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.*

10. *Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth.*

11. *Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling.*

12. *Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish* from *the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little: blessed* are *all they that put their trust in him.*

This psalm seems in a lower sense applicable to David; but it suits much better with the Messias, especially when compared with *the hundred and tenth*, which is a key to it, and the apostles apply it to Christ.

No person ever lived before David, and none ever yet arose after him, to whom the cxth Psalm could be applied, besides Jesus Christ.

David was a king, he was a great and victorious king, he was a king by divine election and appointment, he was a prophet, he was called a man after God's own heart, not because he was a better man than many of his subjects, for he was guilty of several faults, but because, as a king, he kept up the true religion, and made the laws of God to be observed in his dominions, and never fell into idolatry; and upon all these accounts he could have no superior upon earth, none who could be his lord. A great king, a promised Messias was to arise; but as he was to be the son of David, he must

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must have been in that respect inferior to his father, and it seemed unnatural that David should pay homage to his own child. This difficulty our Saviour proposed to the Jews: they could not solve it, and he would not; but his design was to intimate to them that the Messias was a greater person than they apprehended, and that though he was inferior to David, as he was the son of David, he was superior to him, as he was the Son of God.

While the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them, saying, What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he? They say unto him, The son of David. He saith unto them, How then doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool? If David then call him Lord, how is he his son? And no man was able to answer him a word.

Besides, what relation could there be of Lord and servant between David and the Messias, when David was dead, or before the Messias was born, unless the Messias existed before his appearance upon earth, and were the Lord not only of the living, but of the dead; that is, of those who, though dead to men, yet lived to him and were his servants?

David therefore is to be thus understood: The Lord Jehovah hath said to my Lord the Messias, Thou shalt sit at my right hand, invested with divine power, and next in dignity to me.

In this Psalm there are some expressions which are ambiguous and obscure; but setting aside grammatical and critical difficulties, and attending to those parts of it which are plain, we find it foretold here that a person should arise, who should be greater than David, who should be a king, who should rule in the midst

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midst of his enemies, who should be an everlasting priest, and who by the assistance of God should overthrow kings and armies that opposed him. These predictions were evidently accomplished in Christ.

By comparing this Psalm with other prophecies, we may observe that the person here mentioned was to be the son of David. It hath been universally agreed upon by Jews and Christians that the Messias should be the son of David, for these reasons.

God promised to David, not only that he should have a son to reign after him, but that the kingdom should be continued to his family. Thus in the first Book of Samuel, vii. 12. *I will set up my seed after thee—Thy house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever.* In Psalm lxxxix. *I have found David my servant—My mercy will I keep for him for evermore, and my covenant shall stand fast with him: his seed will I make to endure for ever.* In the cxxxii Psalm it is also declared: *I will make the horn of David to bud, I have ordained a lamp for mine anointed. Horn* means a *king*, and the expression of *budding* is taken from trees, which shoot forth branches

Isaiah says, *I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David.* That is, I will fulfil what I promised to David, lv. 3. And again; *In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious,* xi. 10. *And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots. And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him,* &c. xi. 1. This was said long after the death of David, so that the promised person was not yet come, but was to appear in future times.

Afterwards

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Afterwards Jeremiah thus prophesies; *Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute justice and judgment in the earth—And this is his name whereby he shall be called,* The Lord our righteousness. xxiii. 5.

Zechariah, who prophesied after the return from the captivity, taught the people to expect a great person, *The servant of God, the Branch,* that is, the *Branch of Jesse,* the man whose name was *the Branch,* who should build the temple and be a *king* and a *priest* upon the throne. vi. 12.

Many other prophecies there are concurring in this, that a person should arise, who should be the son of David, and a great and illustrious prince: and he is called *David* by Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. *The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king,* &c.—*Afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king;* Hosea iii. 4, 5. *But they shall serve the Lord their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them,* Jeremiah xxx. 9. *And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David: he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. And I the Lord will be their God, and my servant David a prince among them, I the Lord have spoken it,* Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24.

The most probable reason why the Messias is called *David,* is that David was a type of him, and said many things seemingly of himself, which by the Spirit of God were intended of the Messias. Either these prophecies were accomplished in Christ, or they never have been accomplished at all; but with Christ they correspond exactly.

2. The person mentioned in this Psalm was to be greater than David. This is too plain to want any farther

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farther proof: *The Lord said unto my Lord.* And this was accomplished in Christ, if he was, as we learn from the Gospel, the Son of God in a sense most peculiar and high.

3. He was to be a king. *Sit thou at my right hand: Rule thou in the midst.* This also is evident; and it was accomplished in Christ, who hath been acknowledged for a king by all his numerous subjects from his resurrection to the present time. To sit at the right hand of God cannot mean less than to be next in honour and dignity to God, and therefore to be exalted not only above all men, but above all creatures. This dignity was never conferred upon any man, except Christ, who, as the writers of the New Testament affirm, was received up into heaven, and was seen of Stephen appearing at the right hand of God.

But, farther, it may be inferred from this Psalm that he was to be an everlasting king. It is said that he should be king and priest, and an everlasting priest, and consequently an everlasting king also. It is likewise said, *Sit thou at my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool,* which was never accomplished in any of David's posterity except in Christ, in whom so much of the prediction hath been fulfilled, as to be a sufficient earnest for the completion of the whole promise. Hence St Paul proves Christ's everlasting kingdom: Christ must reign, says he, till all things, and all enemies are subdued and put under his feet. This is not yet accomplished, nor will be till the end of the world; for he hath and he will have his enemies who will not be subject to him; and besides, as he hath promised to overcome death, and to confer everlasting life upon his servants, and as death still reigns and will reign over them here below, during this

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this state of things, his dominion will not be complete, till death is no more, and his servants are raised up by him at the last day to live with him for ever, 1 *Cor.* xv.

4. It is said, in the third verse, of this person,—*from the* * *womb of the morning thou hast the dew of thy youth;* which words are obscure. The reading of the LXX is very different and remarkable; *Before the morning star I begat thee.* Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. If this be right †, which I take not upon me to determine, it contains an intimation that this great person was the Son of God before the creation, and in an high and peculiar sense, and not like other good men; and in the second Psalm, it is said, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.*

5. In the fourth verse, *Thou art a* ‡ *priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek*, might also be rendered, || *Thou art a priest for ever, because thou art a just king.*

But what interpretation soever be followed here, it is plain that he was to be an everlasting priest. *The Lord sware, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever.* This promise is introduced with a great solemnity,

* A friend of mine says, *I render the words thus:* From the womb, from *that which was* thy morning, thy youth was a dew, i. e. *as agreeable and refreshing as dew is in hot countries. This a literal version, and is sense.*

† See *Critical Notes on some passages of Scripture*, p. 54.

‡ *Sacerdos*, aut *minister*. Grotius. Vox *Chohen* significat quidem interdum principem, eumque intimæ admissionis, ut diximus ad 2 *Sam.* viii. 18. 1 *Reg.* iv. 5. Sed de Rege proprie dicto nusquam occurrit. Ideoque LXX Intt. σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Quod Jesu Christo soli convenit. &c. *Clericus.*

|| See *Critical Notes*, &c. *Noster textus Hebræus habet*, Secundum meam constitutionem, o Rex mi juste. *Grotius.*

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hity, and confirmed with an oath, and it is of a singular kind, since no such promise is made in the Old Testament to any other person. According to the system of the gospel, it was accomplished in Christ, who is our everlasting Redeemer and Intercessor.

The consequences of this promise were, that the Messias must live for ever, and not be subject to the dominion of death, else he could not be an everlasting priest; and that he could have no successor in the priesthood, since it would never be vacant; and that the Jewish priesthood, and the ceremonial law must be abolished, and give place to another institution and covenant, and that the priesthood must be changed, and pass from the family of Aaron and the tribe of Levi to the family of David, and to the tribe of Judah, whence this Messias was to spring.

6. *The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies.*

When the gospel of Christ, first preached at Jerusalem, and thence spreading itself through the world, had been received by a multitude of Jews and Gentiles, this prediction began to be accomplished, and it was farther fulfilled when Christianity was established in the Roman empire.

7. In this Psalm it is plainly and expressly foretold that the Messias should be a victorious king, that he should have kings and rulers for his enemies, and that they should be overthrown and perish. This, as we have shewed, was remarkably fulfilled in Christ.

8. In the sixth verse, *He shall wound the heads over many countries*, may be translated, *he shall crush the head (that ruled) over many countries. Confodiet caput quod multis terris præerat.* Clericus.

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9. In the seventh verse, *He shall drink of the brook n the way; therefore shall he lift up his head.* That is, says Le Clerc, *He (who was head over many countries) shall drink of the brook in the way; therefore he (the conqueror) shall lift up his head; Maxentius and his host shall be drowned in the Tiber, and lay his head there, and Constantine shall lift up his head, and triumph over him.* This Le Clerc proposes, but modestly and with diffidence. The thought is ingenious; and to drink of the brook may mean to be drowned, as in Homer, *Odyss.* Δ. 511.

Ὣς ὁ μὲν ἔνθ' ἀπόλωλεν, ἐπεὶ πίεν ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ.

Ovid. *Epist.* vii. 62.

Neu bibat æquoreas naufragus hostis aquas.

But perhaps it would be more natural to understand it thus of the same person: *As a pursuing conqueror takes a hasty draught at the first fountain in the way, and loses no time in refreshing himself, so God, or the Messias, shall speedily subdue his enemies, and lift up his victorious head.* Soon after Diocletian began to persecute, the divine vengeance began to attack him and his wicked colleagues, and swept them off from the earth one after another.

We have shewed the completion of these predictions in the establishment of Christianity, and in the destruction of those tyrants who rose up against it, and who became as the dung of the earth. It is no wonder that our Saviour and his apostles * insisted so much on this Psalm, as on a prophecy, direct, and plain, which, when it was accomplished, was so strong a proof of their divine mission, and of the authority both of the Old Testament and of the New.

The

* Matt. xxii. 44. Mark xii. 36. Luke xx. 42. Acts ii. 34. 1 Cor. xv. 25. Hebr. i. 13. v. 6. vii. 17.

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The apostles have applied some parts of this Psalm to Christ, and they knew that the whole would be accomplished in him; yet in their discourses and writings, they avoided a particular mention of the destruction which should fall upon the persecuting princes, probably because they would not offend the Roman emperors, and give malicious men an opportunity of accusing the Christians as bad subjects, and as enemies to the government.

But we will not dissemble another interpretation which hath been given of this psalm.

"It was made, say they, by David, for the use of "the people, of his subjects, who were to rehearse it "in the house of God, at the tabernacle.

"It relates in its primary sense to David, and the "meaning of the first verse is, *The Lord Jehovah hath "said to my Lord*, (king David) *Sit thou*, &c. It is "true that David was no *priest*, but the word *Chohen* "is ambiguous, and may mean either a priest, or an "intimate friend of the king, who hath free admis- "sion to his presence, one of the great courtiers; ac- "cording to which sense the fourth verse may be in- "terpreted, *Thou art of all the sons of men, my princi- "pal favourite, who hast free access to me.*

"But then this psalm, like many other prophecies, "hath a double sense, and is applicable to the Mes- "sias, and is much more eminently accomplished in "him than it ever was in David."

This interpretation hath been proposed and adopted by Ruarus, and by some other Socinians. See *Ruari Epist.* T. ii. p. 116.

Now, if we should admit this double sense, yet it must be observed that Christ applied this Psalm to himself, that the apostles applied it to him, and that

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their interpretation was fully justified by a long train of various events, and by the accomplishment of the whole prediction in Christ, which is an irrefragable proof that they understood it rightly.

But there is no admitting this double meaning without adopting a precarious hypothesis, contradicting the general opinion of the Jews in the time of Christ, rejecting the version of the LXX. which translates *Chohen*, ἱερεὺς, according to the usual sense of the word, and offering violence to some parts of the Psalm, which cannot be applied to David unless in a sense very low and flat, *sensu valde diluto*. David could not say of himself, *The Lord said unto my Lord*, nor did he sit at the right hand of God, exalted above men and angels, nor were all his enemies subdued under his feet, nor did they whom he conquered pay him a willing obedience, nor was he an everlasting priest, or an everlasting king, nor was his dominion extensive over the nations and the Gentiles.

Davidis revera fuisse Psalmum testatur Christus, et Petrus. Uterque ostendit, vi verborum, de Christo agi, non de alio; qua in re non aptantur ei verba, quæ et alii convenire queant, ut interdum fit in vaticiniis; sed statuuntur non aliter posse intelligi.—Hoc unum non facile cuiquam concessero, hunc Psalmum non ad Jesum Christum solum et quidem directe referri oportere; quod nec diffitebatur H. Grotius, qui ceteroquin insimulatur, quasi vix ullam prophetiam directe ad Christum solum pertinere fassus sit. Quod tamen immerito viro magno objicitur. Clericus. See his Comment on this Psalm.

The condition of the *Jews* under *Constantine* should now be considered, but I shall take the subject from an earlier date, and offer a few remarks on the state of

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of that people from the destruction of Jerusalem to this day.

"Howsoever unentertaining the history may seem "to be which we have undertaken, yet it presents to "the public view an object worthy of observation, "and the greatest prodigy that can be imagined, "namely, the preservation of the Jewish people in the "midst of the miseries which they have undergone "since seventeen hundred years. Religions depend "on temporal prosperity; they triumph under the "protection of a conqueror; they languish and sink "with sinking monarchies. Paganism, which once "covered the face of the earth, is extinct. The "Christian church, glorious in its martyrs, yet was "considerably diminished by the persecutions to "which it was exposed, nor was it easy to repair the "breaches in it made by those acts of violence. But "here we behold a church hated and persecuted for "seventeen hundred ages, and yet sustaining itself "and widely extended. Kings have often employed "the severity of edicts and the hand of executioners "to ruin it. The seditious multitudes by murders "and massacres have committed outrages against it "still more violent and tragical. Princes and peo-"ple, Pagans, Mahometans, Christians, disagreeing "in so many things, have united in the design of ex-"terminating it, and have not been able to succeed. "The *Bush of Moses,* surrounded with flames, ever "burns, and is never consumed. The Jews have "been expelled, in different times, from every part of "the world, which hath only served to spread them in "all regions. From age to age they have been exposed "to misery and persecution. Yet still they subsist, "in spite of the ignominy, and the hatred which hath

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" pursued them in all places, whilst the greatest mo-
" narchies are fallen, and nothing remains of them be-
" sides the name.

" Their misery bears its peculiar characters, in
" their other captivities God marked out a time in
" which he would be propitious, and break the yoke
" of tyranny, and restore to them their lost liberty.
" The longest, which was the Egyptian captivity, yet
" lasted only a few ages. After threescore and ten
" years they returned from Babylon, and the perse-
" cution of Antiochus was to cease after three years
" and ten days: but of their present evils God hath
" not fixed the expiration.—God comforted them un-
" der their other distresses by heroes, or by inspired
" men. Ezekiel prophesied at Babylon, and Daniel,
" long before the event, pointed out the Messias.
" The Maccabees arose against the kings of Syria,
" and raised up the fallen glory of the nation; but
" hitherto none have appeared, besides false messiahs,
" who, by their attempts to shake off the yoke from
" the people, have only encreased its weight. The
" prophetic succession is extinct, and no sacred mes-
" senger arises to promise the end of miseries which
" have lasted so many ages.

" Even when God delivered them up to infidels,
" he preserved a body of the nation, by removing it
" to one place. It was entire in the vale of Goshen,
" when they were called out of Egypt. Cyrus easi-
" ly re-united the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, to
" send them back to Jerusalem. One part of the na-
" tion inhabited the same cities, and the Israelites oc-
" cupied the two borders of the river Chabor; but
" at the destruction of Jerusalem, and afterwards in
" Adrian's war, the nation, enfeebled by unparallel-
" ed

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" ed massacres, was dispersed through all the pro-
" vinces of the empire. The dispersion is as great as
" it ever was, and scarcely are to be found the re-
" mains of the ten tribes in the east, where formerly
" they were numerous and considerable.

" The Romans, when they made themselves mas-
" ters of Judæa, left to its inhabitants a public wor-
" ship, and the exercise of their laws. The syna-
" gogues, as those of Damascus, judged with autho-
" rity of religious affairs, in which even the Chris-
" tians were interested. The High Priest was not
" without power. There were judges even in Chal-
" dæa, as it appears from the history of Susanna,
" false as it is. But not the shadow of sovereign au-
" thority now remains, and yet the nation remains,
" and consists of millions.

" The judgments which God has exercised upon
" this people are terrible, extending to the men, the
" religion, and the very land in which they dwelt.
" The ceremonies essential to their religion can no
" more be observed. The ritual law, which cast a
" splendor on the national worship, and struck the
" Pagans so much that they sent their presents and
" their victims to Jerusalem, is absolutely fallen,
" for they have no temple, no altar, no sacrifices.—
" Their land itself seems to lie under a never-ceasing
" curse. Pagans, Christians, Mohammedans, in a
" word, almost all nations have by turns seized and
" held Jerusalem. To the Jew only hath God refu-
" sed the possession of this small tract of ground so
" supremely necessary for him, since he ought to
" worship on this mountain. A Jewish writer hath
" affirmed that it is long since any Jew was seen set-

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" tled near Jerusalem: scarcely can they purchase " there six feet of land, for a burying-place.

" In all this there is no exaggeration. I am only " pointing out known facts, and far from having the " least design to raise an odium against the nation " from its miseries, I conclude that it ought to be " looked upon as one of those prodigies which we ad- " mire without comprehending, since in spite of evils " so durable, and a patience so long exercised, it is " preserved by a particular providence. The Jew " ought to be weary of expecting a Messias, who so " unkindly disappoints his vain hopes; and the " Christian ought to have his attention and his re- " gard excited towards men, whom God preserves for " so great a length of time, under calamities which " would have been the total ruin of any other people." *Basnage*, Hist. des Juifs iv. 1.

Some have observed that the preservation of the *Gypsies* is as extraordinary as that of the *Jews;* but this is thrown out by way of *jest*, which, like *gravity* and *solemnity* in another sort of writers, often supplies the want of argument. For what comparison between the Jewish nation, and a collection of strollers of various countries, who perhaps have not existed, as a body, above four hundred years, who far from dogmatizing, seem to be of no religion at all, who never appeared in arms, and made themselves formidable, whom rags and contempt have secured from violent persecution, and who, at the worst, have been only driven from place to place, which to them was no great punishment, for frauds and petty-larcenies?

T. Jackson, in his Theological works, hath given a summary account of the calamities of the Jews from the time of their rebellion against Christ; but he hath not

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not shewed the candour and the caution of Basnage; he is prejudiced against them, treats them over severely, judges too harshly, and pays too much regard to the ridiculous stories and lying slanders which have been raised by Christians against them. One would wonder how zeal could transport a good and learned man to such a degree against this miserable nation. *Vol.* i. p. 92, &c.

Our Saviour said to the Jews, *I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him will ye receive.* This remarkable prediction of our Lord hath been evidently and frequently fulfilled: for,

In the interval between the resurrection of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem many *false Christs and false prophets arose*, of whom mention is made by St Luke and by Josephus.

In the reign of Adrian, *Barcochab* pretended to be the Messias, and perished with his followers.

In the time of Theodosius the younger, A. D. 434. another impostor arose called *Moses Cretensis*. He pretended to be a second Moses, sent to deliver the Jews who dwelt in Crete, and promised to divide the sea, and give them a safe passage through it. They assembled together, with their wives and children, and followed him to a promontory. He there commanded them to cast themselves into the sea. Many of them readily obeyed him, and perished in the waters, and many were taken up, and saved by fishermen. Upon this, the deluded Jews would have torn the impostor to pieces, but he escaped them, and was * seen no more. *Socrates* vii. 38.

Socrates

* ἀφανὴς γὰρ ἐγένετο.

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Socrates relates here a story of what happened in his own days. He says not that this fellow wrought any miracles to bewitch his countrymen; unless it be supposed a sort of *miracle*, to make a Jew fling away himself, and his money too. It is plain that the impostor could propose neither profit nor credit by thus deluding and destroying the Jews; and therefore we may conclude that he was a frantic enthusiast, and that perhaps in the hurry and bustle, he jumped down himself unseen, and was drowned.

In the reign of Justin, A. D. 520. another false prophet is said to have appeared, and to have called himself the son of Moses. His name was *Dunaan*. He entered into a city of Arabia Felix, and there he oppressed the Christians; but he was taken prisoner and put to death by Elesban, an Æthiopian general. See a fuller account of this *Dunaan*, in Fleury H. E. T. vii. p. 272. and in Basnage *Hist. des Juifs*, who says that *Dunaan* was no false Messias, but a king of the Homerites, vi. 20. p. 1375.

The Jews and Samaritans of Palæstine rebelled against the emperor Justinian, A. D. 529. and set up one *Julian* for their king, and accounted him the Messias; but the Romans made a great slaughter of them, and their king was killed. *J. a Lent.* This rebellion is to be ascribed to the Samaritans, who were oppressed on account of their religion by Justinian, a wrong-headed prince, and a great persecutor of heretics. See Fleury H. E. T. vii. p. 326.

A. D. 571. *Mohammed* was born in Arabia. He at first professed himself to be the Messias who was promised

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promised to the Jews, and he drew after him many of them, and so may claim a place in the catalogue of false Christs.

A. D. 721. Another *Impostor*, a Syrian, arose in the time of Leo Isaurus: he called himself the Messias, and was received as such by the Jews.

A. D. 1138. A *false Christ* made his appearance in France. He was put to death, and many Jews suffered at the same time, being accused of crucifying a Christian boy once a year.

A. D. 1137. The Persians were disturbed by a Jew, who called himself *the Messias*, and collected a formidable army of his countrymen. The Persian king submitted to compound the matter with him, and hired him to disband his soldiers. But afterwards he seized and beheaded him, and made the Jews in his dominions pay him back all the money which he had given to their Messias, by which they were reduced to a state of beggary, and to a necessity of selling their children. He continued to treat them very cruelly, and subjected them to all kinds of insults.

In the same century A. D. 1157. a *false Messias* stirred up the Jews at Corduba in Spain; upon which almost all the Jews of that kingdom were destroyed.

A. D. 1167. *Another* arose in the kingdom of Fez, who is mentioned by Maimonides.

In the same year appeared a *false prophet*, and, as it seems, an enthusiast also: it was in Arabia. He pretended

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pretended to be the forerunner of the Messias. When search was made for him, his followers fled, and he was brought before the Arabian king. He was questioned by him, and replied that he was indeed a prophet sent from God. The king then asked him what sign or miracle he could shew, to confirm his mission. Cut off my head, said he, and I will return to life again. The king took him at his word, promising to believe in him if it came to pass, and cut off his head. But the prophet never attempted to fasten it on again; and the Jews of Arabia had a heavy fine laid upon them. Yet some of them, says Maimonides, were so infatuated as to expect his resurrection.

Not long after this, a Jew who dwelt beyond Euphrates called himself *the Messias*, and gave this for a sign of it, that he was leprous all night, and clean all day. He perished in his attempt.

A. D. 1174. A *magician* and false Christ was seen in Persia, who brought the Jews into great tribulation.

A. D. 1176. Another arose in Moravia, who was called *David Almusser*. He pretended that he could make himself invisible: but he was taken and put to death, and a heavy fine was laid upon his brethren, the Jews.

Solomon Ben Virgæ mentions another *impostor*; but we know not in what year or in what place he set up his claim.

A. D. 1199. A famous cheat and a rebel exerted himself in Persia, called *David el David*, or *David Alroi*, a learned man, and a magician, who is reported to

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to have wrought many miracles. He raised an army against the king, but was taken and imprisoned, and having escaped, was again seized, and was beheaded. Benjamin Tudelensis and Solomon Ben Virgæ have given us an account, abounding with lies, concerning the wonders wrought by this inchanter.

A. D. 1497 We find another Messias, whose name was *Ismael Sophus*, who deluded the Jews in Spain.

A. D. 1500. *Rabbi Lemlem*, a German Jew of Austria, declared himself a forerunner of the Messias, and pulled down his own oven, promising his brethren that they should bake their bread in the Holy Land next year.

A. D. 1509. Jo. Henricus Majus, in his Life of Reuchlin, says that one *Pfefferkorn*, a Jew of Cologn, pretended to be the Messias. *Pfefferkorn* afterwards turned Christian, and joined with James Hochstrat (an inquisitor, and a man thoroughly qualified for this vile office) to plague the Jews and to persecute Reuchlin. This quarrel excited some wit to write the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, in which Hochstrat and his stupid monks and doctors are set in a ridiculous light, and make a very drole figure. Bayle gives an account of these disputes in his *Dict.* HOCHSTRAT.

A. D. 1534. In Spain, *Rabbi Salomo Malcho*, giving out that he was the Messias, was burnt by Charles the fifth; and the Christians were so superstitious, that they stopped the Rabbi's mouth, when they brought him to the stake, lest by uttering some charm, he

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he should escape out of their hands. The poor wretch was a sort of martyr, for it is said that he might have saved his life if he would have renounced Judaism.

A. D. 1615. A *false Christ* arose in the East Indies, and was followed by the Portuguese Jews.

A. D. 1624. Another in the low countries pretended to be *the Messias*, of the family of David, and of the line of Nathan. He promised to destroy Rome, and to overthrow the kingdom of Antichrist, and the Turkish empire.

" A. D. 1666. This was a year of great expecta-
" tion, and some wonderful thing was looked for by
" many. This was a fit time for an impostor to set
" up; and accordingly lying reports were carried a-
" bout. It was told about that great multitudes
" marched from unknown parts to the remote deserts
" of Arabia, and they were supposed to be the ten
" tribes of Israel, who have been dispersed for many
" ages; that a ship was arrived in the north parts of
" Scotland with sails and cordage of silk, that the
" mariners spake nothing but Hebrew, that on the
" sails was this motto, THE TWELVE TRIBES OF IS-
" RAEL. Thus were credulous men possessed at that
" time."

" Then it was that *Sabatai Sevi* appeared at Smyrna,
" and professed himself to be the Messias. He pro-
" mised the Jews deliverance and a prosperous king-
" dom. This which he promised they firmly be-
" lieved. The Jews now attended to no business,
" discoursed of nothing but of their return, and be-
" lieved Sabatai to be the Messias as firmly as we
" Christians

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" Christians believe any article of faith. A right " reverend person, then in Turkey, told me that " meeting with a Jew of his acquaintance at Aleppo, " he asked him what he thought of Sabatai. The Jew " replied, that he believed him to be the Messias, and " that he was so far of that belief, that if he should " prove an impostor, he would then turn Christian. " It will be very fit I should be very particular in this " relation, because the history is so very surprising and " remarkable; and we have the account of it from " those who were then in Turkey, and are now alive. " I am so well satisfied as to the facts, that I dare " vouch for the truth of the relation, and appeal for " the truth of it to very many persons of great credit, " who are now alive.

" *Sabatai Sevi* was the son of *Mordecai Sevi*, a mean " Jew of Smyrna. Sabatai was very bookish, and " arrived to a great skill in the Hebrew learning. " He was the author of a new doctrine, and for it " was expelled the city. He went thence to *Salonichi*, " of old called Thessalonica, where he married a very " handsome woman, and was divorced from her. " Then he travelled into the Morea, then to Tripoli, " Gaza, and Jerusalem. By the way he picked up " a third wife. At Jerusalem he began to reform " the Jews constitutions, and abolish one of their " solemn fasts, and communicated his design of pro- " fessing himself the Messias to one Nathan. He " was pleased with it, and sets up for his *Elias* or " forerunner, and took upon him to abolish all the " Jewish fasts, as not beseeming, when the bride- " groom was now come. Nathan prophesies that " the Messias should appear before the grand Seig- " nior

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" nior in less than two years, and take from him his " crown, and lead him in chains.

" At Gaza, Sabatai preached repentance, together " with a faith in himself, so effectually, that the peo- " ple gave themselves up to their devotions and alms. " The noise of this Messias began to fill all places. " Sabatai now resolves for Smyrna, and then for Con- " stantinople. Nathan writes to him from Damascus; " and thus he begins his letter, *To the King, our* " *king, Lord of lords, who gathers the dispersed of Is-* " *rael, who redeems our captivity, the man elevated to* " *the heighth of all sublimity, the Messias of the God of* " *Jacob, the true Messias, the celestial Lion, Sabatai* " *Sevi.*

" And now throughout Turkey the Jews were in " great expectation of glorious times. They now " were devout and penitent, that they might not ob- " struct the good which they hoped for. Some fast- " ed so long that they were famished to death; " others buried themselves in the earth till their limbs " grew stiff; some would endure melting wax drop- " ped on their flesh; some rolled in snow, others in " a cold season would put themselves into cold wa- " ter; and many whipped themselves. Business " was laid aside, superfluities of household utensils " were sold; the poor were provided for by immense " contributions. Sabatai comes to Smyrna, where " he was adored by the people, though the *Chacham* " contradicted him, for which he was removed from " his office. There he in writing styles himself *the* " *only and first-born Son of God, the Messias, the Savi-* " *our of Israel.* And though he met with some op- " position, yet he prevailed there at last, to that de- " gree, that some of his followers prophesied, and fell

" into

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" into strange extasies; four hundred men and wo-
" men prophesied of his growing kingdom; and
" young infants who could hardly speak, would
" plainly pronounce *Sabatai*, *Messias*, and *Son of God*.
" The people were for a time possessed, and voices
" heard from their bowels; some fell into trances,
" foamed at the mouth, recounted their future pros-
" perity, their visions of the Lion of Judah, and the
" triumphs of Sabatai. All which (says the relator)
" were certainly true, being effects of diabolical delu-
" sions, as the Jews themselves have since confessed
" unto me.

" Now the impostor swells and assumes. Where-
" as the Jews in their synagogues were wont to pray
" for the Grand Seignior, he orders those prayers to
" be forborn for the future, thinking it an indecent
" thing to pray for him who was shortly to be his
" captive; and instead of praying for the Turkish
" emperor, he appoints prayers for himself, as another
" author relates. And (as my author *Joannes a Lent*
" goes on) he elected princes to govern the Jews in
" their march towards the Holy Land, and to mini-
" ster justice to them when they should be possessed
" of it. These princes were men well known in the
" city of Smyrna at that time. The people now were
" pressing to see some miracle to confirm their faith,
" and to convince the Gentiles. Here the impostor
" was puzzled, though any juggling trick would have
" served their turn. But the credulous people sup-
" plied this defect. When Sabatai was before the
" Cadi (or justice of Peace) some affirmed they saw a
" pillar of fire between him and the Cadi; and after
" some had affirmed it, others were ready to swear
" it, and did swear it also; and this was presently

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" believed by the Jews of that city. He that did not " now believe him to be the Messias, was to be shun- " ned as an excommunicate person. The impostor " now declares that he was called of God to see Con- " stantinople, where he had much to do. He ships " himself, to that end, in a Turkish *Saick*, in Jan. " 1666. He had a long and troublesome voyage: he " had not power over the sea and winds. The Vi- " sier, upon the news, sends for him, and confines " him to a loathsome prison. The Jews pay him " their visits; and they of this city are now as infa- " tuated as those of Smyrna. They forbid traffic, and " refused to pay their debts. Some of our English " merchants, not knowing how to recover their debts " from the Jews, took this occasion to visit Sabatai, " and make their complaints to him against his sub- " jects; whereupon he wrote this following letter to " the Jews:

" *To you of the nation of the Jews, who expect the* " *appearance of the Messias, and the salvation of Israel,* " *peace without end. Whereas we are informed that* " *you are indebted to several of the English nation, it* " *seemeth right unto us to order you to make satisfaction* " *to these your just debts; which if you refuse to do, and* " *not obey us herein, Know you that then you are not to* " *enter with us into our joys and dominions.*

" Sabatai remained a prisoner in Constantinople " by the space of two months. The Grand Vizier, " designing for Candia, thought it not safe to leave " him in the city, during the Grand Seignior's absence " and his own. He therefore removed him to the " *Dardanelli*; a better air indeed, but yet out of the " way; and consequently importing less danger to " the city: which occasioned the Jews to conclude

" that

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" that the Turks could not, or durst not take away " his life; which had, they concluded, been the surest " way to have removed all jealousy.

" The Jews flocked in great numbers to the castle " where he was a prisoner; not only those that were " near, but from Polland, Germany, Leghorn, Venice, " and other places; they received Sabatai's blessing, " and promises of advancement. The Turks made " use of this confluence; they raised the price of " their lodgings and provisions, and put their price " upon those who desired to see Sabatai, for their " admittance. This profit stopped their mouths, " and no complaints were for this cause sent to Adri- " anople.

" Sabatai, in this confinement, appoints the man- " ner of celebrating his own nativity. He commands " the Jews to keep it on the ninth day of the month " *Ab*, and to make it a day of great joy, to celebrate " it with pleasing meats and drinks, with illumina- " tions and music. He obligeth them to acknow- " ledge the love of God in giving them that day of " consolation for the birth of their king Messias, Sa- " batai Sevi, his servant, and first-born Son in love.

" I only observe by the way the insolence of this " impostor. This day was a solemn day of fasting " among the Jews formerly, as I have shewed else- " where, in memory of the burning of the Temple " by the Chaldees: several other sad things happened " in this month, as the Jews observe; that then and " upon the same day the second temple was destroy- " ed; and that in this month it was decreed in " the wilderness that the Israelites should not enter " into Canaan, &c. Sabatai was born on this day; " and therefore the fast must be turned into a feast:

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" whereas in truth, it had been well for the Jews had " he not been born at all ; and much better for him- " self, as will appear from what follows. But I re- " turn to my author.

" The Jews of the city paid Sabatai Sevi great re- " spect. They decked their Synagogues with S. S. in " letters of gold, and made for him in the wall a " crown ; they attributed the same titles and prophe- " cies to him which we apply to our Saviour.

" He was also during this imprisonment visited by " pilgrims from all parts, that had heard his story. " Among whom *Nehemiah Cohen* from Poland was " one, a man of great learning in the Kabbala and " eastern tongues : who desired a conference with " Sabatai, and at the conference maintained that, ac- " cording to the Scripture, there ought to be a two- " fold Messias ; one the son of Ephraim, a poor and " despised teacher of the law ; the other the son of " David, to be a conqueror. Nehemiah was content " to be the former, the son of Ephraim, and to leave " the glory and dignity of the latter to Sabatai. Sa- " batai, for what appears, did not mislike this. But " here lay the ground of the quarrel ; Nehemiah " taught that the son of Ephraim ought to be the " forerunner of the son of David, and to usher him " in : and Nehemiah accused Sabatai of too great for- " wardness, in appearing as the son of David, before " the son of Ephraim, had led him the way. Sabatai " could not brook this doctrine ; for he might fear " that the son of Ephraim, who was to lead the way, " might pretend to be the son of David, and so leave " him in the lurch ; and therefore he excluded him from " any part or share in this matter ; which was the occa- " sion of the ruin of Sabatai and all his glorious designs.

" Nehemiah being disappointed, goes to Adrianople, " and

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" and informs the great ministers of state against Sa-
" batai, as a lewd and a dangerous person to the go-
" vernment, and that it was necessary to take him
" out of the way. The Grand Seignior being in-
" formed of this, sends for Sabatai; who, much de-
" jected, appears before him. The Grand Seignior
" requires a miracle, and chuses one himself, and it
" was this; that Sabatai should be stripped naked,
" and set as a mark for his archers to shoot at; and
" if the arrows did not pierce his flesh, he would own
" him to be the Messias. Sabatai had not faith
" enough to bear up under so great a trial. The
" Grand Seignior let him know that he would forth-
" with impale him, and that the stake was prepared
" for him, unless he would turn Turk. Upon which
" he consented to turn Mahometan, to the great con-
" fusion of the Jews. And yet some of the Jews
" were so vain as to affirm that it was not Sabatai
" himself, but his shadow, that professed the religion,
" and was seen in the habit of a Turk: so great was
" their obstinacy and infidelity, as if it were a thing
" impossible to convince these deluded and infatuat-
" ed wretches.

" After all this, several of the Jews continued to
" use the forms, in their public worship, prescribed by
" this Mahometan Messias, which obliged the prin-
" cipal Jews of Constantinople to send to the syna-
" gogue of Smyrna, to forbid this practice. During
" these things, the Jews instead of minding their
" trade and traffic, filled their letters with news of
" Sabatai their Messias, and his wonderful works.
" They reported that when the Grand Seignior sent
" to take him, he caused all the messengers, that were
" sent, to die; and that when other Janizaries were
" sent, they all fell dead by a word of his mouth;

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" and being requested to do it, that he caused them " to revive again. They added, that though the " prison where Sabatai lay was barred and fastened " with strong iron locks, yet he was seen to walk " through the streets with a numerous train: that " the shackles which were upon his neck and feet did " not fall off, but were turned into gold, with which " Sabatai gratified his followers. Upon the fame of " these things, the Jews of Italy sent legates to " Smyrna, to inquire into the truth of these " matters. When the legates arrived at Smyr- " na, they heard of the news that Sabatai was turned " Turk, to their very great confusion: but going to " visit the brother of Sabatai, he endeavoured to per- " suade them that Sabatai was still the true Messias; " that it was not Sabatai that went about in the ha- " bit of a Turk, but his angel or spirit; that his bo- " dy was taken into heaven, and should be sent down " again when God should think it a fit season. He " added that Nathan, his forerunner, who had " wrought many miracles, would soon be at Smyrna; " that he would reveal hidden things to them, and con- " firm them. But this Elias was not suffered to come " into Smyrna; and though the legates saw him else- " where, they received no satisfaction from him at all.

" There appeared another impostor in the year " 1682, one *Rabbi Mordechai*, a Jew of Germany, a " man famous among his countrymen for his learning, " and austere kind of life. He was also much cried " up for his prophecies, which he uttered, about five " years before, at Prague and other places. He was " a very sharp reprover of vice, and was for that rea- " son commonly called *Mochiah*, i. e. *the Reprover*. " He was so vain as to profess himself to be the Mes- " sias; and not only to require the Jews to salute " him

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" him as such, but upon the matter to adore him. The " Italian Jews gave him credit, and so did many of " the Jews of Germany also, whither he came out of " Italy. We are told that he was mightily caressed " in Italy, and received for the Messias; though the " Jews of that place, after they saw their error, did " not care to own him. A certain Jew, that by or- " der of the Jews called him into Italy, tells us, " that, upon conversing with him, he found him to " be an inchanter, and very silly; that he thereupon " warned the Jews not to believe him; upon which " the credulous Jews were so enraged that they " treated their monitor very maliciously, and dis- " missed him from the place of his abode. They " withal threatened him very severely, if he durst " speak evil any more of their Messias: that this " Jew continuing to disparage this impostor, the Ita- " lian Jews were so enraged, that they endeavoured " to cast him out of the place where he was settled, " and declared that whosoever should do him mischief, " or bear false witness against this person, who " defamed their Messias, should be esteemed guilt- " less." *Kidder.*

Joannes a Lent wrote a *Schediasma de Judæorum Pseudo-Messiis.* Bishop Kidder treated the same subject in his *Demonstration of the Messias*, and made use of this *Schediasma:* and I have borrowed from them both. Kidder's book contains much useful erudition delivered in a slovenly and plebeian style, as may be seen in this specimen. *De La Croix*, in his *Relation of the Othoman Empire*, hath also given us an ample account, and many curious and entertaining particularities of *Sabatai Sevi*, who when he had apostatized, preached at Constantinople, and drew over many

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Jews to profess Mohammedism. At last he was committed to prison for the rest of his days, and died A. D. 1679. La Croix saw him, and heard him preach.

With *Rabbi Mordecai* endeth the history of the false Messiahs, and the Jews (I think) have had none since. It may seem strange that they should have rejected Christ, who gave them so many proofs of his mission, and yet should follow every impostor, who pretended to be the Messias without offering any sufficient or even plausible evidence of it. The reason is plain: Our Saviour, by not setting up a temporal kingdom, dashed all their worldly views at once; but the other claimers of the title of Messiah began with promises of delivering them from their enemies, and restoring to them their country and their lost liberties.

Let us now go back to the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus. The Jews, who escaped this slaughter, remained in a poor condition, in various parts of the Roman empire *.

Iis autem, qui in Judæa remanserant, Titus imperavit ut—nullus sabbatum deinceps servaret; nullus a menstruata muliere se contineret, *quemadmodum ex tractatu Talmudico* Megilla *clarum est.* J. a Lent.

Was ever any thing so absurd? and who, but a *Talmudist*, or a *Cabbalist*, could take it into his silly head to conceive that Titus would have published such a decree, to plague the poor Jews?

——*atque*

* Concerning the state of the Jews from the destruction of Jerusalem to the end of the fifth century, their ecclesiastical government, their colleges, their talmud, or deuteroses, their rabbins, doctors, patriarchs, and apostles, there are some curious remarks in Pezron, *Defense de l'Antiquité des Tems*.

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——*atque equidem,*——
Tum etiam, si nolit, cogam ut cum illa una cubet.
Terent. *Adelph.* v. 3.

This good-natured emperor was so far from persecuting, that he pitied and protected them; and when he was at Antioch, and the people there earnestly importuned him to banish the Jews from that city, he checked them, and said, Where would you have these unhappy men go? they have now no country and city of their own to receive them. *Josephus* B. J. vii. 5.

Domitian succeeded Titus, and was a cruel and worthless prince, who oppressed all his subjects, but particularly the Jews. He imposed heavy tributes upon them which they were ill able to pay, and exacted them with great rigour and insolence.

After this, in the time of Trajan, the Jews grew weary of their dependency and of the Roman yoke, and raised a rebellion in Libya, Egypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia; they exercised all sorts of iniquities and cruelties, and slew an innumerable multitude of people. If they had not been infatuated, they would never have chosen such a time to rebel, when the Romans had one of the greatest, bravest, and wisest emperors that ever reigned, who understood war perfectly, and who loved it too much, for with many accomplishments he had that defect. This revolt brought on a war between the Jews and Romans: battles were fought, and the Jews were beaten, and severely punished.

After Trajan, Adrian was emperor, who also was a great and powerful prince, and who took care to maintain numerous and disciplined forces. Under him the Jews rebelled again in Palæstine, headed by one

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one *Barcochab*, an impostor and a false prophet, who was a robber and a murderer, and ravaged the country, and did incredible mischief.

Encouraged by this villain, the Jews drew together, and attempted to settle at Jerusalem, whereby they provoked Adrian to send an army against them, which took Jerusalem and destroyed it down to the ground a second time, and slew all the Jews that were to be found, not sparing even the infants. If we may believe the Jewish writers, their nation at that time suffered calamities not less severe nor less extensive than those under Vespasian. It is said that there died by sword, famine, sickness, and fire, five hundred and eighty thousand persons. The surviving Jews were sold in the markets, like beasts, to any who would purchase them, for a small price.

When this war was thus ended, Adrian forbad all the Jews on pain of death to set foot in Jerusalem. It is said by some ancient writers, that once a year they purchased leave to approach their old city, and there to fast and weep over its ruins.

Adrian then rebuilt a city near the place where Jerusalem stood, gave it a new name, peopled it with Pagans, and made it a Roman colony.

It appears from some passages in history that not long after this, under Antoninus Pius, the Jews rose and rebelled again, and were repressed. It is astonishing how after so many calamities they should have had the resolution and the strength to appear in arms.

Under his successor Marcus Aurelius, one of the best emperors that ever lived, they were so foolish and infatuated as to join themselves to a base worthless rebel, who rose up against so good a master: but the emperor

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emperor forgave them, and shewed them more mercy than they deserved.

Under Severus they were troublesome, and did something that provoked him to make war against them, in which he had the advantage. This emperor, who was of a cruel disposition, published a rigid edict against them, and threatened to punish any of his subjects who should embrace their religion.

The conversion of Constantine produced a great revolution, by which Christianity became the established religion. And now the Jews were subject to Christian, as they had been before to Pagan emperors; but this revolution brought with it no advantage to them: it was rather a detriment.

"The Jews were not much happier under Chris-
"tian emperors than they had been under the reign
"of idolaters. Their condition varied according to
"the temper of their rulers. Christians had suffered
"so much from persecution, that they could not in-
"stantly change their maxims and their notions about
"it. Constantine contented himself with making
"some laws which laid some restraint on the liberty
"of the Jews, though they were the objects of his
"hatred: but the Christians insensibly followed the
"bent of corrupted nature, which inclines us to tor-
"ment and punish those who contradict us in mat-
"ters of religion. Even the councils, which ought
"to have been more equitable, gave into this spirit,
"and became the incendiaries which inflamed the
"princes against the poor remains of this unhappy
"nation. We often make our boasts of the prevail-
"ing influence of humanity, and imagine that the
"dictates of nature suffice to teach us compassion for
"our fellow-creatures. But pride is another princi-
"ple

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" ple in us, which is more prevalent than compassion;
" and pride excites our indignation when we see a
" body of persons who think differently from us, and
" who assume the liberty to dispute against those
" truths of which we judge ourselves to be in posses-
" sion. Humanity speaks first, and pleads for gen-
" tleness and forbearance; but pride bids her be si-
" lent, and hardens the heart against these softer im-
" pressions. Thus persecutions arise in every reli-
" gion: whilst the teachers are inclined to look upon
" all opposition made to the doctrines of which they
" are the expounders and the defenders, as so many
" personal attacks upon themselves. Hence councils
" often authorise and begin those oppressions, which
" princes afterwards carry to the utmost rage and ex-
" cess." *Basnage* Hist. des Juifs, vi. 14.

The council of Toledo, A. D. 633, made a cruel decree, that all the children of Jews should be taken away from their parents and put into monasteries, or into the hands of religious persons, to be instructed in Christianity. *Fleury* H. E. viii. 367.

" The first event to be found in the life of Con-
" stantine, relating to the Jews, is reported by Zona-
" ras. This historian informs us that they had a con-
" ference at Rome with Helena (the mother of Con-
" stantine) who was not yet converted. They repre-
" sented to this princess, that if her son had done
" well in abolishing Paganism and its idols, he was
" not much nearer to salvation, since, instead of wor-
" shipping the heroes of Pagan antiquity, he adored
" a man who had been crucified in later times. He-
" lena, who was religious, and disquieted on account
" of her son, obliged the Jewish doctors to hold a
" conference

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"conference with Pope Silvester, who soon triumph-
"ed over these enemies of Christianity. But whilst
"they were disputing, a magician called *Zambres*,
"whom the Rabbins had brought with them, caused
"an ox to fall down dead at the foot of Silvester.
"The miracle disconcerted not the prelate, for he
"raised the ox to life; and then all the persons pre-
"sent, acknowledging in the pope a power superior
"to that of the magician, received baptism, and He-
"lena also desired to be instructed in the faith.
"This is the story of a monk: but as there are in the
"world persons of all sorts, and understandings of all
"sizes, if any should be found credulous enough to
"digest this conference, this miracle, and the sudden
"conversion that followed it, he may have recourse
"to the authority of an Arabian historian, who as-
"sures that twelve thousand Jews and Pagans, with-
"out counting women and children, received bap-
"tism at Rome under the reign of Constantine.
"Abulpharagius indeed speaks not of the miracle;
"but by tacking together the account of the Arab,
"and that of the Greek monk, the latter event may
"be looked upon as the consequence of the former,
"and the conversion of so great a number as a proof
"and an effect of the resurrection of the ox." *Bas-
nage* Hist. des Juifs vi. 14. § 2.

It is to be supposed that the magician whispered in the ear of the ox the *ineffable name*, which struck him dead; and it is a wonder that Zonaras did not think of it. Perhaps the name of this magician should be not *Zambres*, but *Jambres*, who must have been an old man indeed, if he was the same that *contended with Moses*. See the Remarks of S. Basnage on this fable. *Ann.* ii. 660.

The

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The zeal which Constantine had for Christianity set him against the Jews, as they were enemies to the gospel. He subjected to punishment those who should become proselytes to Judaism, and he ruled the Jews with a strict and heavy hand.

He ordered churches to be built, not only where they were necessary, but in those towns and villages which were inhabited almost only by Jews, which must have been a great mortification to that people.

He made a law, as an ancient author tells us, which condemned those who should speak evil of Christ, to lose half their estate.

In his time, as some relate, the Jews endeavoured, not by arms and violence, but in a silent and quiet way, to steal a settlement at Jerusalem, and to build themselves a temple, or some little edifice, which they would have called a temple: of which Constantine being apprized, he is said to have cut off the ears of those who had been the forwardest in this attempt, and to have ordered them to be sent to their several abodes with this mark of his displeasure.

"It is affirmed that Constantine persecuted the "Jews, and Chrysostom assures us, that they assem- "bled to rebuild Jerusalem, and that this prince, of- "fended at their rashness and impudence, cut off their "ears, and dispersed them as fugitive slaves through "all the provinces of the empire. Eutychius adds, "that Constantine obliged them all to be baptized, "and to eat pork at Easter. Persecution can hardly "be carried further than this: but I doubt whether "the facts be true. St Chrysostom hath great autho- "rity in the church, yet it is not always safe to trust "him as an historian; and indeed the Jews them- "selves say, and Abulpharagius confirms it, that it "was

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" was the emperor Adrian who cut off their ears, and " sold them as slaves in the markets. Besides, Je- " rusalem was rebuilt in the reign of Constantine, its " bishop had assisted at the Nicene council; and the " emperor adorned it with such magnificent struc- " tures, that Eusebius told him, in a * *profane manner*, " that he had built the new Jerusalem foretold by the " prophets. How then could the Jews mutiny and " assemble there to do what was already done? Last- " ly, In the Theodosian Code, although there be " many laws, under the name of Constantine, against " the Jews, there is not one which orders them to " have their ears cut off, to be baptized, and to eat " swine's flesh.

" But this prince published several edicts, which " shew the condition and the unquiet temper of the " Jews in his time. The first is one of the most im- " portant. It was made, if I mistake not, on account " of Joseph, who had abandoned the synagogue, to " embrace Christianity. The Jews, vexed at his con- " version, persecuted him even in his own house; " and having found him reading the gospel, they " took the book from him, loaded him with insults " and blows, and dragged him to the synagogue, " where they scourged him cruelly. Not content " with these outrages, they flung him into the river " Cydnus, whose current carrying him out of their " sight, they had the joy to think that he was drown- " ed: but God preserved his life. He received bap- " tism, and made himself known at court, and obtain- " ed

* A man must be in a quarrelsome humour to treat Eusebius so roughly for such a trifle.

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" ed leave from the emperor to build churches in di-
" vers places where there never had been any before.
" The Jews were then settled at Diocæsarea, Tiberias,
" Nazareth and Capernaum, and had so engrossed
" those cities that they would suffer no strangers
" there, not even the Samaritans. Joseph undertook
" to introduce Christianity into these cities, and be-
" gan to build churches in them. At Tiberias he
" met with an opposition which procured him the fa-
" vour of a miraculous assistance. There was in that
" town a large edifice, which had been intended for
" a temple to Adrian: as it had not been finished,
" there was a design to use it for a bagnio. Joseph
" was resolved to make it a church, and wanting
" lime, he built some furnaces without the city for
" that purpose. The Jews, irritated at his attempt,
" had recourse, as Epiphanius relates it, to magic
" arts, and they were so successful that the fire could
" not be kindled, nor any lime be made. Joseph,
" vexed at such an unforeseen incident, went out
" from the city, followed by a great number of people,
" whose curiosity led them to see what he would do.
" When he came to the place, he made the sign of
" the cross, and invoking the name of Jesus over
" some water which he had brought in a large vessel,
" endowed it with a power to dissipate the inchant-
" ment, and to kindle the fire: and flinging some of
" it into each of the furnaces, the wood instantly took
" fire, and the flames appeared. This miracle con-
" verted a great number of the Jews; but the rest
" remained hardened, and ceased not to oppose the
" building of the temple, so that only a part of it was
" finished, in which a small church was erected.

" Epiphanius

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"Epiphanius * seems to have been thoroughly persuaded of the truth of this miracle. As for us, we shall only observe that the Jews were still powerful under Constantine, since they possessed four towns, one of which was Nazareth, where Christ had been brought up. Their numbers made them insolent; for they assaulted those who went over to Christianity, and publicly opposed the execution of the imperial orders for the building of churches.

"This was what obliged Constantine to publish the edict of which we have been speaking. He upbraids them, *that when any person had a mind to quit their religion, they stoned him, or cast him in the fire:* and he condemns them and their accomplices to the same punishment. We see here the traces of those transports of zeal, by which they thought themselves authorized to kill those whom they surprized in any flagrant crime. These were pretended to be precepts of the Oral law, and it was alledged that Phineas had executed the verbal orders of Moses. Another example was also produced from the Maccabees, when Mattathias slew the Jew who was performing pagan rites. Their doctors authorized such practices, and Philo affirms that God had established them. The Essenes, devout and austere, ordered that if any one should blaspheme against Moses, he should be slain. This sect had not the power of life and death; and therefore must have punished such offenders by an act of zeal. In spite of the horrible disorders and massacres perpetrated by the Zealots at Jerusalem,

* See the whole history of Joseph in Tillemont H. E. vii. 290. It is a curious Legend, and it rests upon the authority of Epiphanius.

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" the nation still preserved the dangerous maxim,
" and the Misnah teaches that if any one renounces
" fundamentals, he must be slain: by which rule
" they stoned, burned, and flung into rivers those
" who apostatized, under the reign of Constantine.
" So that he was obliged to repress this violence, and
" as they obeyed not his first law, he was forced to
" publish a second.

" He also forbad Christians to go over to Judaism,
" under penalties to be inflicted at the pleasure of
" the magistrate. What was most to be feared was,
" that slaves might be seduced by their masters; he
" therefore suffered not the Jews to circumcise their
" servants, and ordered all those to be set at liberty
" who had been so used, or who were willing to em-
" brace Christianity. Eusebius says that it was not
" permitted to the Jews to purchase or to keep Chris-
" tian slaves,* and gives this reason for it, that it
" was not fit that they who have been redeemed by
" the blood of Jesus Christ, should be in bondage to
" the murderers of the prophets and the Son of God.

" Lastly, Constantine ordered that the Jews might
" be made *Decurions*, since it was reasonable that
" they should bear part of the burden of public of-
" fices: but he exempted their patriarchs, and priests,
" and those who had considerable employments in
" the synagogues, as men who had not leisure to
" serve in civil offices; and indeed it was not an
" honour, but a burden to serve as a *Decurion*, and
" every one endeavoured to shun it by taking other
" employments in the army and in the state, or by
" obtaining

* Theodosius forbad the Jews to keep Christian slaves, A. D. 384. *Cod. Th.* L. iii. *Tit.* i. p. 246.

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" obtaining an exemption from the emperor. Con-
" stantine and his sons granted them to so many
" persons, that in the time of Julian none were left
" to serve the public in these posts. He was there-
" fore obliged to recal those privileges, without dis-
" crimination, which caused great clamours against
" him and his memory, whilst others commended his
" conduct. Such was the condition of the Jews un-
" der the first Christian Prince." *Basnage* Hist. des Juifs vi. 14.

Under Constantius, the violent dissentions amongst the Christians might have been profitable to the Jews, if they could have been quiet, and had behaved themselves well: for when the Christians had divided and subdivided themselves into sects, they hated, calumniated, and oppressed each other more than they did the infidels, and in the fourth and fifth centuries * it

 was

* Honorius and Theodosius II. made a law, that the Jews should not be compelled to violate their Sabbaths and their other holy days, upon any pretence, A. D. 409. *Die Sabbati, ac reliquis, sub tempore quo Judæi cultus sui reverentiam, servant, neminem aut facere aliquid, aut ulla ex parte conveniri debere præcipimus: cum Fiscalibus commodis, et litigiis privatorum, constat reliquos dies posse sufficere,* &c. Cod. Th. L. ii. Tit. viii. p. 125. Thus were the Jews indulged, whilst no pity and favour was shewed to those Christians who were called heretics.

Arcadius and Honorius, in their law, *De Judæorum foro*, A. D. 398. had ordered that in civil things the Jews should be subject to the civil laws, but in religious things to their own laws and decisions. *Cod. Th.* L. ii. *Tit.* i. p. 87.

Valentinian I. had also protected the Jews, and did not permit their Synagogues to be profaned. A. D. 368. *Cod. Th.* L. vii. *Tit.* viii. p. 344. et *Gothofred.* This illustrious Prince had his faults, but he had his virtues likewise. He was a true and a steady friend to toleration, and would not suffer his subjects to be persecuted for their

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was safer to be a Jew or a Pagan, than to be an heretic, or a schismatic, or a Christian of this or that denomination; and the obscurer the controverted points were, the greater was the contention, as it usually happens.

But the Jews, who could never be at rest, took arms in Palæstine, in the time of Constantius, and slew the soldiers who were quartered there, and many of the inhabitants, and ravaged the country: upon which Gallus Cæsar, the emperor's cousin, attacked them, and being of a cruel disposition, he burnt their cities, and slew all that he could find, without sparing even the women and the children.

Julian, in spite to the Christians, used the Jews kindly, and promised them great things, and had a mind to settle them again in Jerusalem, to rebuild their temple, and to enable them to observe their ceremonial as well as their moral law, which would have been an insult upon Christ and Christianity. He was resolved, says Marcellinus, to spare no pains or expence, and to restore the temple to its former splendor, and he gave orders to the governor of the province to set about it; which was instantly done: but when the work was begun, terrible balls of fire broke out from the foundations, and made the place inaccessible, and upon many repeated endeavours slew the workmen, so that the fire never ceasing to rage whilst any attempt was made to go on with the work, the undertaking was laid aside. *Ambitiosum quondam apud*

religious opinions: He was also a friend to letters and to learned men. For these two good qualities he deserves to be mentioned with respect, and it is much to be wished that all princes would imitate his example.

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apud Hierosolymam templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina obsidente Vespasiano posteaque Tito, ægre est expugnatum, instaurare sumtibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum, exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo, elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum, xxxiii. 1.

The same thing is related by many Christian writers, as by Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Philostorgius, Theodoret, &c. some of whom lived at the time. They say nothing that contradicts the pagan historian, but they mention an earthquake, and add some circumstances not recorded by him, in which perhaps there may be exaggeration and embellishment. There is not one of these Christian authors who has not impaired his credit by the relation of miracles manifestly false; but still their testimony, as to the principal fact, is of weight, and is confirmed by Marcellinus, by Jewish writers, and perhaps by some passages in Julian's epistles, and by this circumstance above all, that they appeal to a thing which any one might go and see with his own eyes, to the interrupted work at Jerusalem, and to the foundations of the temple which had been digged up by the Jews, to clear the ground for the intended edifice; so that, all things considered, the story is as well attested as one can reasonably expect.

But when a man hath no mind to believe a thing he seldom wants excuses. The Jews who lived at that time, and would not allow this to be a miracle in

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favour of Christianity, ascribed it perhaps to God's displeasure against Julian, a bigotted idolater, who deserved not the honour of rebuilding his temple, or to their own transgressions, which made them unworthy of being, at that time, restored; for men will acknowledge their own faults, when they can reap any advantage from the concession. The pagans might give the honour of it to their deities who hated the Jewish superstition and impiety; they might say that providence interposed, just as it did when the Cnidians endeavoured to make an island of their peninsula *. And perhaps both Jews and Pagans ascribed it to natural causes; for there have been eruptions of subterraneous fires in various times and places, and such eruptions have perhaps sometimes accompanied earthquakes, tho' not so often as some have imagined. Tacitus mentions a remarkable instance of fire issuing from the earth: *Sed civitas Juhonum socia nobis, malo improviso afflicta est: nam ignes terra*

* Nam quum initium ex Bybassia peninsula sumat, et præter exiguum quid Cnidia omnis sit circumflua: (eam enim partem quæ Boream spectat, Ceramicus coercet sinus, Australem vero mare, in quo est Syme ac Rhodus) istud igitur exiguum, circiter quinque stadiorum, Cnidii fodiebant, interea dum Harpagus Ioniam everteret, volentes suam regionem in insulæ formam redigere. Intus vero universa illis erat: nam Cnidia regio qua parte in continentem finitur, illic isthmus est, quem fodiebant. Et sane multa manu operantibus Cnidiis, amplius humano et divinius videbantur vulnerari operarii, quam solet in talibus fieri, cum alias corporis partes, tum præcipue oculos incisâ et vulneratâ petrâ: Delphos miserunt consultores Oraculi, qui sciscitarentur quidnam esset quod tantopere adverseretor. Pythia, ut ipsi referunt Cnidii, senario versu respondit talia;

Nec aggerate, nec vel Isthmum fodite:
Nam si placuisset, Insulam dederat Deus.

Herodotus.

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terra editi, villas, arva, vicos passim corripiebant, ferebanturque in ipsa conditæ nuper Coloniæ mœnia; neque extingui poterant, non si imbres caderent, non si fluvialibus aquis, aut quo alio humore niterentur: donec inopia remedii, et ira cladis, agrestes quidam eminus saxa jacere, dein residentibus flammis propius suggressi, ictu fustium, aliisque verberibus, ut feras absterrebant: postremo tegmina corpori directa injiciunt, quanto magis profana et usu polluta, tanto magis oppressura ignes. Ann. xiii. 57.

This relation, given by Tacitus, hath been thought extravagant and romantic by a late writer. Let us consider whether it be not supported by an authentic account of a fountain in Poland.

In Poloniæ minoris Palatinatu Cracoviensi mons reperitur Admirabilis *appellatus*, &c.—*in cujus plagæ meridionalis medio scaturigo quædam aquæ limpidissimæ cum strepitu ac vibratione notabili exsurgit, cujus quidem ebullitio seu turgescentia cum lunæ augmento intenditur, cum decremento remittit.*——*Nullo intra natales hiemis congelascit frigore, imo, quod mirabile, a face propius admota instar subtilissimi spiritus vini exardescit, ut flamma super aquæ superficiem instar bullarum agitetur et subsultet, ideoque fons hic Ignis fatuus audiat. Atque hic quidem ignis sponte sua nunquam extinguitur, nisi scopis percutiatur; quemadmodum ante annos circiter triginta quinque, cum accolæ accensum restinguere negligerent, per cataractas subterraneas sensim progrediendo radices arborum et cum his totam vicinam silvam in cineres redegit, per tres fere annos durans, antequam perfecte suffocari posset: a quo tempore publicæ etiam excubiæ constitutæ sunt, quæ frivolas ejusmodi accensiones impediant. Dum autem aliquantulum flagrat hæc aqua, multum sui impetus deponit, intra quatuordecim dies vix recuperandi.*

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recuperandi. De cætero quamvis ligna admota brevi comburat hæc flamma, adeo tamen subtilis est, ut aquam non calefaciat sed hausta hæc frigida percipiatur; imo nec ipsa extra suam scaturiginem exardescit, utut in vasis exactissime clausis asservetur. Inflammabilitatem hujus fontis cunctis superioribus seculis ignotam fulmen manifestavit, quod casu eum feriens eundem accendit. Hinc lignatores ex silva vicina accurrentes, virgultis ex cæsis arboribus aquæ summitatem verberando ignem restinxerunt, a quo tempore aliquoties postmodum, experimenti causa, mediante face ardente illa denuo accensa, et virgultorum succussione quoque extincta fuit. Unde factum ut provinciæ illius incolæ cæca credulitate sibi persuaserint, fulmen seu tonitru a prima illa accensione in profundo fontis remansisse, quod dum egredi conetur, aquam adeo exagitet, et flammam hanc ad ejus superficiem erumpere faciat.——See *Act. Erud.* 1684. p. 326.

We have an account of a tract of land about two miles long, near the Caspian sea, which is inflammable, and which always burns, without casting out either smoke or flames, or consuming any thing. *Phil. Transact.* for the year 1748, Nº 487, 488.

In the year 1647, at Santorini, an island in the Archipelago, subject to earthquakes, *silvæ subterraneo igne conflagrantes pastoribus et armentis non leve damnum intulerunt.* Act. Erud. 1688. p. 517.

Ammianus Marcellinus, after describing the earthquake by which Nicomedia was overturned, adds, *Superesse potuit cœdium sacrarum et privatarum, hominumque pars major, ni palantes abrupte flammarum ardores per quadraginta dies et noctes quicquid consumi poterat exussissent.* xvii. 7. But these Nicomedian fires were the fires of kitchens, baths, forges, &c. which burnt the timber and other combustible materials

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terials of the fallen houses, as Sozomen expressly informs us, iv. 16.

In the fifth century the city of Antioch was destroyed by an earthquake and a fire. *Succussio et terræ motus urbi supervenientes, pœne universam prostraverunt. Posthæc secutus est ignis—quæcumque enim loca a succussione et terræ motu subversa non fuerant, ignis depascens in cinerem ac favillas redegit.* Evagrius iv. 5. This also seems to have been no subterraneous eruption, but like the fire at Nicomedia. Sixty-one years after, there was another earthquake at Antioch, described by Evagrius who was then in the city, in which sixty thousand persons perished: but by the mercy of God, says Evagrius, no fire broke out. *Nullum exortum est incendium, quamvis ingens ignis copia passim in urbe esset, partim ex focis, partem ex publicis et privatis lucernis, ex culinis item et fornacibus ac balneis, aliisque innumeris locis.* vi. 8.

When twelve cities in Asia fell by an earthquake, fire was seen to burst out. *Effulsisse inter ruinam ignes memorant.* Tacitus *Ann.* ii. 47.

Josephus mentions a violent earthquake in Judæa: Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ μάχης συνεσταμένης Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον,—σεισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοτ' ἐδόκει, τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κτηνῶν πολλὴν φθορὰν ἐποίησεν, ἐφθάρησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ ταῖς πεπτωκυίαις οἰκείαις περὶ μυρίους. *Interea per tempus pugnæ Actiacæ, quæ Cæsari cum Antonio fuit,—concussa Judææ terra, quantum nunquam antea videbatur, magnam pecorum stragem fecit per totam regionem, oppressaque sunt hominum etiam circiter decem millia ruinâ domorum.* Ant. xv. 5.

There had probably been other earthquakes in Palæstine, in diverse times. That in the reign of Uzziah

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ziah is mentioned as very remarkable by Zachariah and by Amos.

But though it should be supposed and allowed that the eruption was not without natural causes, and that the seeds of it lay in the bowels of the earth, yet as this most uncommon fire broke out at the very instant when the Jews and Pagans were attempting to rebuild the temple, and was renewed, as the Historian says, upon their renewed attempt to go on, and ceased when they gave over, these circumstances seemed to be plain marks of a providential interposition.

Another, and a most memorable circumstance, which distinguished it from the pretended miracles of those days, is that it was not wrought to serve a party, and either to favour or to confute Athanasians, Arians, Semiarians, Sabellians, Novatians, Manichæans, monks, anti-monks, relique-mongers, relique-haters, fasters, eaters, friends or foes to matrimony, &c. No sect could claim any countenance or honour from it, but it was performed by providence for the credit of Christianity, and to serve the common cause against Judaism and Paganism.

It hath been said that Christ, who foretold the destruction of the temple, yet hath not affirmed that it should be rebuilt no more, or hath not clearly declared how long it should lie in ruins, and that if the Jews had rebuilt their temple under Julian, yet they would not have had time to make use of it, because his Christian successor would have pulled it down, or converted it into a church, and that therefore there was no occasion for a miracle to prevent Julian's design.

But where is the force or the reasonableness of this argument? If it was not fit that the Jews should have

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a temple, it might surely be as proper that God himself should interpose, as that he should leave it to the Christians; and it was more to the confusion of Judaism, and to the honour of Christianity, which certainly was concerned in the affair.

The Jews, according to the writers of the New Testament, suffered the evils, which they underwent, for their disobedience, and their rebellion against Christ; and as the national disobedience then continued, it was fit that the national punishment should continue also. The ceremonial law had been abolished by the Gospel, and therefore it was fit that the Jews should not be put in a capacity to observe it, though they were ever so willing. Thus they were under a curse, as the ancient Christian writers often observe, because they could not perform the legal expiations and atonements. The Jews might have replied that God accepted the will for the deed, that a contrite heart would serve instead of sacrifices, that no man is bound to impossibilities, and that under the Babylonian captivity they ceased not to be God's people, though they had neither temple nor sacrifice. But the long cessation of the ceremonial law for no less than three hundred years brought in a prescription against it, and shewed that it was antiquated, and that the New and second Covenant had taken place of the first. The longer the Jewish dispersion and the desolation of Jerusalem continued, the more force the Christian argument gathered. In the time of Julian it pressed hard upon them, but much harder when that nation had lost all distinction of tribes, and could find no priests and Levites to officiate, though their temple had been rebuilt. The argument now stands thus: Your forefathers, when by idolatry, sorcery, shedding of innocent

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cent blood, and all sorts of defilements, they had provoked God beyond measure, were carried captives to Babylon; but after seventy years they returned and rebuilt their temple. Since that time you have been no more guilty of idolatry, and yet you are rejected of God these seventeen hundred years. What crime have you committed against him worse than idolatry, or high treason, for which you are thus severely punished beyond all former example of God's dealing with you? It must be for the rejection of the Messias. Orobius the Jew, in his dispute with Limborch, was greatly distressed by this argument, and knew not how to answer it.

The subject which I am now treating hath been very well discussed by Mr Warburton, to whose book I refer the reader for farther satisfaction, and to his arguments and observations I shall only here add a few remarks, to confirm those of my friend.

First, The fire which came out from the foundations of the temple, and destroyed the workmen, and dispersed the Jews, was, to the Jews, a particular mark of God's displeasure and interposition, because it was the way in which God had constantly used to manifest himself. God, considered as the punisher of sinners, is said to be a consuming fire; when he appeared, his glory was as a devouring fire; when he is represented in the Psalms as taking vengeance, fire is said to have proceeded from him, and smoke, and burning coals, and lightnings; fire is an emblem of his wrath and vindictive justice; by fire he often punished the ungodly, as the inhabitants of Sodom, and the rebellious Jews; by fire the world is to be consumed, and the future

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future punishment of evil angels and evil men is represented under the words, *everlasting fire*. Hence in the holy Scriptures fire heaped upon the head denotes vengeance descending from above, that is, divine vengeance; and as the natural effect of heaping fire upon a man's head is destruction, in the figurative sense it must mean punishment. So in the Psalms, *Let burning coals fall upon them;* so in Esdras, *Let not the sinner say he hath not sinned, for God shall heap coals of fire upon his head who saith before the Lord God and his glory, he hath not sinned;* so Solomon in the Proverbs, *If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat, if he be thirsty, give him water to drink, for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head, and the Lord shall reward thee;* which words of Solomon St Paul hath made use of in his Epistle to the Romans *.

When God expelled Adam from Paradise, he placed a flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep him out.

When he made a covenant with Abraham, a smoking furnace and a burning lamp passed between the divided sacrifice.

When he appeared to Moses, it was in a flame of fire out of the midst of the bush.

He guided the Israelites by a pillar of fire.

When he descended upon Mount Sinai, it was in a fire, a devouring fire and an earthquake; and the face of Moses shone after he had seen the glory of God.

When the tabernacle was erected the glory of the Lord filled it, and appeared as a fire by night.

When

* Where see Grotius and Whitby. See also *Jeremiah* v. 14. and *Revel.* xi. 5. and Le Clerc *Bibl. Anc. et Mod.* i. p. 373.

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When Aaron and his sons were consecrated, there came a fire from before the Lord, and consumed the burnt offering; and when Nadab and Abihu made an offering in an illegal manner, there went out a fire from the Lord, and slew them.

When the people murmured at Taberah, the fire of the Lord burnt among them and consumed them.

When two hundred and fifty men, joining themselves to Corah, offered incense, there came out a fire from the Lord and consumed them.

The Angel of God consumed Gideon's sacrifice with fire.

The Philistines in the days of Samuel were discomfited by thunder and lightning; and by thunder and lightning God shewed his approbation of Samuel, and his displeasure against the Israelites.

When Solomon dedicated the temple, the fire fell from heaven and consumed the burnt-offering, and the glory of the Lord filled the house.

Elijah brought down fire from heaven to consume his sacrifice, and twice afterwards, to destroy two captains with their companies, who were sent to apprehend him. A fire went before God when he manifested himself to this great prophet, who was afterwards taken up into heaven in a chariot of fire.

It was reported among the Jews that Herod, a little before the birth of Christ, broke open the sepulchre of David, to plunder it, and that two of his guards were struck dead with a fire which burst out upon them. So says Josephus, who gives it as a common rumour, ὡς ἐλέγετο *. Ant. xvi. 7.

When

* It might be as true as the story related by Evagrius. "Barsanuph, the monk, in the time of Justinian, wrought innumerable "miracles, and is firmly believed to be still living, shut up in his cell,

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When James and John wanted leave to punish the Samaritans for their rudeness, they asked Christ to permit them to call down fire from heaven: and when the Holy Ghost descended at Pentecost, it was in the appearance of fire.

Thus God used to shew his presence by fire, either to declare his favour or his anger. When he was propitious, he consumed the sacrifice, and when he was offended he consumed the sinner: and therefore the fiery eruption at Jerusalem upon the attempt to rebuild the temple, seemed to be a signal mark of divine displeasure. Unbelievers will reject all these examples, as fabulous; and their system, though unreasonable, is so far consistent with itself: but why should a man, who believes the Scriptures, think it inconceivable that there should have been a providential interposition in this affair?

I observed secondly, that if Julian had succeeded in his attempt to rebuild the temple, and had lived some years longer, the Jews would have been enabled to restore the temple-service and the ceremonial law. Three hundred years, which were elapsed from the destruction of Jerusalem, had not perhaps so far confounded all distinction of families as to deprive them of a priesthood: but now, if they had Judæa in their possession, and a temple there, they could not re-establish the ceremonial law, having lost long ago all genealogies and all distinction of tribes. Some of the best

"although more than fifty years are passed since any man hath seen "him, or he hath received any nourishment. Eustochius bishop of "Jerusulem, would not believe this, and ordered the cell to be open-"ed in which the man of God hath shut himself up, whereupon a "fire burst out, and slew almost all those who were present." H. E. iv. 35.

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best Jewish doctors own as much, when they say that part of the office of the Messias shall be to sort their families, restore their genealogies, and set aside strangers; and that he shall purge and purify the sons of Levi, saying, This is a priest, and this is a Levite. See Chandler's *Def. of Christ.* p. 47. *Il est étonnant qu'on ose soutenir qu'on a conservé la distinction des Tribus, et des familles. Maimonides a eu la bonne foi d'avouër qu'elles étoient tellement confonduës depuis le tems de Sennacherib, qu'on ne pouvoit plus les demêler.* Hinc familiæ inter nos confusæ sunt, ita ut dignosci nequeant inter se, nec e locis ipsarum cognosci. *Basnage* Hist. des Juifs. T. iv. p. 1052.

The Jews, since the destruction of Jerusalem, have lived under Pagan, Christian, and Mahometan princes, and from time to time have been oppressed by them all, even when they did nothing to deserve it, but behaved themselves in the most obliging, quiet, and submissive manner.

As they were almost every where upon a kind of connivence, and upon the foot of strangers and sojourners, and excluded from places of power, honour, and profit, and from many ways of getting their bread, they applied themselves to commerce, and to lend money upon interest, and several of them in former days grew both rich and infamous by extortions. I say not this to reproach them in particular; for Christians have done and do the same. But what they thus got, perhaps by disingenuous dealing and dishonest tricks, the princes often took away from them with the utmost iniquity and insolence; and so they were drudges and tools to arbitrary power, and spunges to be squeezed by merciless and avaritious tyrants. Thus, here in England, king John cast them into prison,

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son, not for any crime that he had to lay to their charge, but to make them deliver up their effects to him: there they were put to the torture, had their teeth pulled out, and were mangled and maimed, to redeem themselves from destruction *.

A thousand † calumnies have been spread concerning them, as that they were magicians, that they profaned the host, and that they crucified Christian children, and as many lying miracles were reported, to confirm those accusations, and then popular emotions and massacres always ensued.

For one story of this kind that was true, a multitude of false ones were related. Socrates tells us that in the fifth century, in the time of Honorius, some Jews in the neighbourhood of Antioch, who were drunk, took a Christian boy, tied him to a cross, derided and reviled him, and growing frantic gave him so many blows that he died. Upon which the governor of the province punished them severely. vii. 16.

Some time after this a Jew went to several bishops, pretending to embrace Christianity, and was baptized many times, and got money from the Christians. At last, he went with the same story to Paul the bishop of the Novatians, and desired baptism. The bishop told him that he must first prepare himself, and learn his Christian rudiments, and read, and pray, and fast for several days, which went much against the man's stomach. So he begged the time might be shortened, pretending zeal and impatience. But when he

 came

* ——Libertas pauperis hæc est;
Pulsatus rogat, et pugnis concisus adorat,
Ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.

† See Manasseh Ben Israel's *Vindiciæ Judæorum*, in the *Phœnix*, Vol. ii. p. 391.

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came to the baptismal font, behold a miracle! the water suddenly vanished away. Upon a second trial, the same thing happened, though the pipes of the font were carefully stopped. Thus the bishop found him out to be an impostor, and one of the congregation remembered that he had seen him baptized by Atticus. If there be any truth in the story, it is probable that the bishop, who was no fool, and saw that the Jew was a knave, over-reached him, and secretly unstopped a hole to let the water out. See Socrates, vii. 17.

Ambrose, who was made bishop of Milan, A. D. 374, very injudiciously defends the burning of a Jewish synagogue by a Christian bishop, and the unlawfulness of rebuilding it; and in his letter * to Theodosius on this subject, *he heaps together thoughts and expressions, which are rather declamations than arguments*, as Du Pin observes very fairly, and hints his dislike of such doctrines, though he dared not to speak out, and *provoke the Hornets*. Vol. ii. p. 285.

Theodosio nuncius affertur de incenso Valentinianorum templo, nec non de subruta ab Episcopo Judæorum Synagoga. Rem Ambrosius sic exequitur in sua ad Theodosium epistola: Monachi, prohibentibus iter Valentinianis, quo Psalmos canentes ex consuetudine, usuque veteri, pergebant ad Maccabæorum martyrium, moti insolentiâ incenderunt fanum eorum. *(De Synagoga vero)* relatum est a Comite Orientis militarium partium, incensam esse Synagogam, idque autore factum Episcopo; jussisti vindicari in cæteros, Synagogam ab ipso ædificari Episcopo. *Ignis fano Valentinianorum a Monachis subjicitur. Factum et Episcopi et Monachorum*

* Epist. 40.

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nachorum improbaverat Theodosius, neque immerito, ut nostra fert sententia. Itaque tumultus autores pœnis subjecerat: hoc moleste tulit Ambrosius, qui aculateâ Theodosium epistolâ pungit: Quid mandas in absentes judicium? Habes præsentem, habes confitentem reum. Proclamo quod ego Synagogam incenderim, certe quod illis mandaverim, ne esset locus, in quo Christus negaretur. *Missa est hæc ad Principem epistola: quâ lectâ, cum nondum flecteretur, reversus Mediolanum Ambrosius, in concione adversus Theodosium invehitur, inducto Christo, sic renitentem alloquente:* Ego te triumphare sine labore feci, et tu de me inimicis donas triumphos. *Impetravit tandem, ut quæ mandaverat Imperator revocarentur.*

Zelum quidem Ambrosio non invidemus, prudentiam tamen in eo facto desideramus, cum et Monachorum et Episcopi facinus iniquitate conditum fuerit. Quid publicam evertere tranquillitatem, quid de Magistratus autoritate delibare, quid pugnas movere, quid tumultus excitare, si hoc non fuit? Lex est Honorii sapientissima: Christianis demandamus, ut Judæis ac Paganis quiete degentibus, nihilque tentantibus turbulentum, non audeant manus inferre, religionis autoritate abusi. Nam si contra securos fuerint violenti, vel eorum bona diripuerint, non ea sola quæ abstulerint, sed convicti, in duplum quæ rapuerint restituere compellentur. *Equidem si Valentinianorum fana, si Judæorum Synagogæ evertendæ erant, Principis Edictum requirebatur. Neque privatis licet ædificia, sive Ethnicorum sive Judæorum publica subruere, quorum usus legibus et autoritate Imperatorum conceditur. Quod si Monachis Episcopisve id licitum est, liceat quoque Heterodoxorum bona diripere, et privatas domos incendere, in quibus et pietatem negant, et Christo conviciantur. Pace Ambrosii, factum, quod*

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laudat, et vis fuit, et furtum, quo legitimis dominis bona sua eripiebantur, cum perturbatione ordinis omnis, cujus Deus autor est et constitutor. Quam Monachis et Episcopo impunitatem Ambrosius comparavit, ea maxima fuit illecebra furoris, ut Antistites Ascetæque omnes licenter flammis cingerent Ecclesias Hæreticorum, Templa Ethnicorum, Synagogas Judæorum. Puto dicturum Episcopum *(verba sunt Ambrosii)* quod ipse ignes sparserit, turbas compulerit, populos concluserit, ne amittat occasionem martyrii. O beatum mendacium! *Beata hæc mendacia nescit pietas.*———

Hic quidem Baronius lupum auribus tenet, qui laudibus Ambrosii zelum afficit, quem sane improbat Gregorius Magnus, dum contraria Ambrosio statuit, &c. S. Basnage *Ann.* iii. 114.

" St Ambrose expressed the most violent indigna-
" tion against the emperor upon this occasion. He
" sent him a letter, which is still extant, and held in
" veneration, as a glorious memorial of his fervent
" zeal. There are bold men who think that they may
" say and do any thing under the mask of godliness.
" The saint tells the prince that he could pray to God
" no longer for him, if he would not grant him his
" request. After such an haughty prelude, he asks
" him with what face he could order a bishop to re-
" build the synagogue which he had burned, since
" the bishop must either be a prevaricator if he obey-
" ed, or a martyr if he disobeyed him. He takes the
" fault upon himself, and says that he had ordered
" the deed; not that this was true, but by way of
" bravado, and to challenge the emperor to punish
" him if he dared. He tells him that he would have
" done the same at Milan, if God had not prevented
" him by burning the Jewish synagogue himself.
" He

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" He then represents the church of God in tears, the " godly bound in chains and fetters, the servants of " the Lord condemned to the mines, and the triumphant exaltation of the impious Jews, as the sure " consequences of the emperor's orders. This sophistry and these rodomantades are so many tokens " of gratitude which St Ambrose was pleased to give " to his Royal Master for having been his friend, his " patron, and protector; and with this pride and insolence he repays his favours. Theodosius, however, complied, as they say, and excused the incendiaries from making restitution." *Basnage* Hist. des Juifs L. vi. 14. p. 1266. See also some good remarks of Bayle, and of Barbeyrac *Morale des Peres*, p. 325. et p. 330. where he takes notice of Symeon Stylites.

Yet this behaviour is what Tillemont, Ceillier, and many others of the church of Rome, extol and admire; which makes us also admire no less the wisdom and the judgment of some of our brethren, who send us to learn Ecclesiastical History from such writers, without giving us a caution not to trust them too far. They might as well send us to learn morality from Escobar, divinity from Bellarmin, and English history from Father Sanders, or any father of that communion.

A. D. 406. A certain Jew had been confined many years to his bed with a palsy at Constantinople. Having tried in vain the aid of all the physicians, and received no benefit from the prayers of the Jews, he resolved to have recourse to the Christians, and to receive baptism. When this was told to Atticus the bishop, he instructed him in the faith, and then ordered

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dered him to be brought in his bed to the baptismal font. The Jew there professing his faith in Christ, was baptized, and as soon as he was taken out of the water, he found himself cured, and his disease returned no more. "Thus did our Saviour think fit to "shew forth his power, even in our days, by a mira- "cle which converted many of the Pagans. But the "Jews, though they require signs and wonders, yet "have not been moved by these miracles to embrace "the gospel." *Socrates* vii. 4.

This is one of the most plausible miracles that are related of those days. There is nothing in it absurd and unreasonable, either in the fact, or the circumstances, or the tendency. Add to this, that Atticus, by whose ministry it is said to have been wrought, was a good prelate, an enemy to violence and persecution, and remarkable for charity and moderation, as Sozomen informs us. But when we consider the genius of the fifth century, and of the historians and writers of those times, it is impossible not to hesitate.

It deserves also some consideration, whether the bathing and the force of imagination joined together, might not by a natural operation remove a paralytic disorder.

Symeon Stylites began to perch upon his pillar, A. D. 423. In his days the Christians of Antioch, by an insolent act of violence, took away from the Jews their synagogues. The emperor Theodosius Junior, when he first heard of it, following the dictates of equity, commanded the Christians to restore to the Jews what was their property. Upon this the *zealous* Symeon, after the example of Ambrose, wrote a reprimanding letter to the emperor, and obliged him to change

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change his sentiments, and to patronize these illegal and unchristian proceedings. *Tam acriter eum objurgavit, ut Imperator, revocata jussione sua, cuncta in gratiam Christianorum fecerit, et Præfecto Pretorii, qui hæc ipsi suggesserat, potestatem abrogaverit.* Evagrius i. 13.

This gives an ugly blow on the head to Symeon's miracles; since it is hard to suppose that the divine providence should commit preternatural powers to the hands of a monk, who was not only an enthusiast, but a patron of persecutors, rioters, robbers, house-breakers, and seditious subjects.

Symeon's pillar was enclosed, afterwards, in a portico, and an annual miracle was wrought there, of which Evagrius himself was an eye-witness. *Ad lævum igitur columnæ latus, ipse cum reliqua populi multitudine ibi collecta, saltantibus circa columnam rusticis, vidi in fenestra stellam immensæ magnitudinis, per totam fenestram discurrentem atque radiantem: neque id semel, aut iterum ac tertio, sed sæpius: eandemque crebro evanescentem, atque iterum subito apparentem. Quod quidem non nisi diebus festis, quibus sancti viri memoria quotannis recolitur, fieri solet. Sunt etiam qui dicant (nec fides deroganda est miraculo, tum ob autoritatem eorum qui id affirmant, tum propter alia quæ nos videmus) se ipsam illius personam vidisse, huc atque illuc volitantem, promissa barba, et capite tiara obvoluto, sicuti consueverat,* i. 14.

This *fire* was an *Ignis Fatuus*, contrived by the monks, to deceive the devout assembly, and such dupes as Evagrius. What tricks would not these monks have played, if they had possessed the secret of *electricity?*

A Jewish boy having eaten some of the consecrated bread with his Christian school-fellows, A. D. 536.

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his father, who was a glass-maker, discovered it, and flung the poor child into his fiery furnace, and locked him in. After three days, the disconsolate mother found him there safe and sound. A fine lady, as the boy declared, clothed in a purple robe, had been with him in the furnace, and had cooled the flames and given him meat and drink. This lady was the Virgin Mary, who, about the year 408, began to manifest herself and to work continual miracles. Tidings of these wonders came to the years of Justinian, who ordered the mother and the boy to be baptized and admitted amongst the ecclesiastics: but the father, obstinately refusing to receive Christianity, was, by command of the emperor, crucified in the suburbs of Constantinople, as the murderer of his own child. For this story we are indebted to *Evagrius* iv. 36.

The miracle of the confessors, who, in those days, spake plainly, after their tongues were cut out by the persecuting Arians, is also attested by *Evagrius* iv. 14. Other miracles of this kind are related in latter history, and are equally improbable.

In the *Chronicon Saxonicum*, which is a collection of things, some useful, and some of small moment, we are told that Pope Leo the third was deposed by the Romans, who cut out his tongue and pulled out his eyes A. D. 797. and that he saw and talked after this as well as he did before. Compare this with *Fleury* H. E. x. p. 22.

Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, A. D. 829. had drawn upon himself the hatred of the Jews, who were numerous in that city, by baptizing their slaves. The Jews, saye he, buy Pagan slaves; those slaves learn our language, and often take a liking to our religion, and

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and address themselves to us and beg to be baptized. Can we refuse them? or did the apostles use to reject such converts? We desire not to rob the masters; we are willing to redeem their slaves, and to return them the full price which they paid for them, *&c.*

The Emperor Louis was persuaded to take part with the Jews in this affair, upon which Agobard wrote him a letter of remonstrances, which, upon the whole, seem not to be unreasonable. In this letter he charges the Jews with the crime of stealing Christian children, and selling them for slaves. *Fleury* H. E. x. 319. *&c.*

It is observable that the popes * in all times have shewed far more kindness and clemency to the Jews than the Christian princes. One reason was, that the court of Rome hath usually excelled all other courts in policy, craft, and worldly wisdom. It saw the folly of driving away and distressing the Jews; and it knew the use that was to be made of an industrious people, skilful in commerce, and in the management of revenues; and who had no particular dislike to papal authority, no disposition to assist heretics, schismatics, enemies of popery, reformers, and separatists, and no credit to make proselytes to their own religion.

"The council of Basil, held A. D. 1434, extend-
"ing its pastoral care and its jurisdiction very wide-
"ly, thought it proper not to overlook the Jews, who
"were numerous in that city, and in Germany. It
"ordered

* As Gregory, at the end of the sixth century; Alexander II. A. D. 1068. Innocent III. A. D. 1198. Gregory IX. A. D. 1236. John XXII. A. D. 1320. &c.

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" ordered the prelates, in all places where there were " Jews, to appoint learned divines to preach to them. " The sovereign princes were obliged to send all the " Jews in their dominions to attend at the sermon, " and heavy penalties were to be inflicted on any per- " son who should hide or detain them. At the same " time it was forbidden to eat with them or to keep " them company. It was not lawful to have foot- " men, nurses, physicians, or farmers of that nation, " or to let them houses near any church, or in the " middle of any city: and that they might be the " more easily known, they were obliged to wear a " particular habit. Lastly, the council passed a con- " demnation, and inflicted penalties on those who " should pawn to them the sacred books, crosses, " chalices, and the ornaments of churches.

" The council made regulations also relating to the " Jews who should receive Christianity. These con- " verts acquired by baptism a right to enjoy their " own possessions and goods, those excepted which " they had gained by usury; for they were obliged to " restore these extortions, if the persons wronged were " living; and in case of death, as the church was the " mistress of these unlawful and confiscated gains, " she made a present of them to the new converts. " This regulation was of a singular kind; for the " church hath no right to appropriate to herself the " goods of particular persons, especially if they had " acquired them before they entered into the church, " and in the days of their ignorance; nor can she ex- " ercise it to the prejudice of the children and the " heirs of those to whom restitution was due. This " also was an obstacle to the conversion of the Jews, " by stripping them of their acquisitions.

" The

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"The council also, by a law of its own, declared "the converted Jews capable of all civil offices in the "city where they were baptized, because, forsooth, "*it is more noble to be born anew of the Holy Ghost, "than to be born of the flesh.* Councils have no bu- "siness to dispose of the charges and privileges of "corporations; and the reason here assigned is drole, "namely, that regeneration gives men a right to tem- "poral dignities.

"The council, after all, could not be certain of the "sincerity of these proselytes, and seems to have "doubted of it; for it permitted not the new con- "verts to receive and return mutual visits, or to dwell "together, knowing by experience that they only "helped to spoil one another, and that their faith was "rather weakened than improved by such intercourse. "It also forbad them to bury their dead according to "the Jewish ritual, to observe the Sabbath, and other "national ceremonies; a sufficient proof that these "new Christians were not sincere.—It ordered the "curates to seek out Christian wives for these Jews, "and to get them advantageous matches: and as it "granted great privileges to the proselytes, it de- "nounced terrible punishments against dissemblers, "ordering the priests to watch them narrowly, to de- "liver them to the inquisitors, and to make use of the "secular arm, that they might be punished with the "utmost rigour, declaring that they who should pro- "tect these pretended converts should be treated as "friends to heretics; and carrying its authority still "farther, it annulled and annihilated all privileges "formerly granted to the Jews, either by popes, or "by emperors. One is amazed to hear Ecclesiastics "talk at this rate,—confounding things temporal

"with

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" with spiritual, political with ecclesiastical, and " drawing false consequences from the one to the " other. With reason the council ordered that there " should be care taken to instruct the Jews, and that " they should be relieved by the alms of Christians; " but by mere usurpation it claimed a power over " emperors and imperial laws." *Basnage* Hist. des Juifs, T. v. p. 2051.

In the year 1650 the Jews, as it is said, held an assembly in the plain of *Ageda* in Hungary, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ. Many of them seemed disposed to own him for the promised Messias; but upon hearing the doctrines of Christianity, as they were represented by some priests of the church of Rome who were present at the assembly, they were shocked at such idolatrous tenets, and cried out *blasphemy*, and chose rather to reject the gospel than to admit such a sort of Christianity.

The narrative of these remarkable proceedings was drawn up by *Samuel Bret*, who was present at that synod, and is published in *the Phœnix*, vol. i. The question is, whether this *narrative* have any more truth in it than *the Adventures of Telemachus*. The authors of the *Acta Eruditorum* declared their just suspicions concerning it.——*Ceterum sunt in ea Relatione nonnulla, quæ si plane dubiam fidem ejus non reddant, rerum saltem Judaicarum ignorantiæ auctorem arguant. Doctissimo certe Basnagio in erudito de Historia Judæorum opere plane illud Concilium prætermissum observamus*, 1709. p. 104.

Many things have been reported of us, that never entered into the thoughts of our nation; as I have seen a fabulous narrative of the proceedings of a great council of

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of the Jews, assembled in the plain of Ageda in Hungary, to determine whether the Messiah were come or no. Manasseh Ben Israel, in his *Defence of the Jews*, in the *Phœnix*, Vol. ii. p. 401.

The account of the Jews who have been plundered, sent naked into banishment, starved, tortured, left to perish in prisons, hanged and burnt by Christians, would fill many volumes. But now they enjoy better times, they escape persecution even in some Popish countries, and those of them who dwell in Protestant nations have been well used, and no where more kindly than here; so that they have great reason to remember the command which God gave them by Jeremiah, when they were in Babylon, and to apply it to their present situation; *Seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace.* Why should we not, in charity, suppose them to be thus inclined? for they are *men;* and men will commonly love those who treat them gently, and will certainly entertain a bad opinion of their persecutors. In this let us judge of others, by what we feel ourselves; since there are two things which every honest person equally dislikes, *To oppress*, and, *To be oppressed.*

If we had a circumstantial and an impartial account of all the insurrections and rebellions of the Jews, and of the causes which produced them, we should perhaps find this people to have been often provoked and exasperated by ill usage, and therefore rather less turbulent and seditious than they have been commonly represented. We should not forget that it is oppression, which, usually speaking, begets rebellion, *oppression*

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pression, which, as the *wise man* observes, *will make a wise man mad.*

St Paul, in the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Romans, observes that God had rejected the Jews, and chosen the Gentiles to be his people, but, says he, this rejection of the Jews, as it is not universal, so neither is it final and irreversible; some of them are now called to the faith, but to the greater part blindness is happened, and this blindness must continue, till the fulness, the more complete conversion of the Gentiles be come, and then the people of Israel shall also be saved, that is, shall be converted to the gospel, and so be put in a state of salvation. St Paul argues thus; If God hath called the Gentiles to his grace after a long idolatry and infidelity, though they were never before admitted to those privileges which the Jews enjoyed, and though God had never promised to be their God for ever, much more will he recall his chosen people from their infidelity. Here we have his own authority for it, which he also strengthens by appealing to the scriptures: *It is written*, says he, *The Deliverer shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob, and God shall make a covenant with his people, and take away their sins.* The Jews were called God's own people, and his first-born; to them Christ was sent, to them the apostles first preached the gospel, and the first Christian church was that of Jerusalem, which in the primitive times, was as the mother-church, and had some degree of dignity and pre-eminence over all churches. The prophets speak of a future calling of the Jews, and of a state of stability, piety, power, happiness, glory, peace, and prosperity, which they should enjoy. The expressions which are used upon this occasion are extremely strong and magnificent, and have not as yet been

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been literally accomplished. St John also in the revelation, when he describes the New Jerusalem and the glorious state of the church, adopts the same ideas, and uses the same expressions, and therefore may be supposed to have had the same event in view: and the ancient Christians, either by tradition, or by examining the scriptures, were generally agreed in holding that the Jews should in those last days become God's people again; and in the expectation of happier times the Jews also agreed with them.

The question here is, whether St Paul's declaration was fulfilled in the conversion of several Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem, and during the four first centuries, or whether he had a view to a still future, and much more extensive conversion. Upon this question commentators are divided; but the preservation of this people, under so long, so signal, and so unexampled persecutions and calamities, would incline one to think that they are reserved for some illustrious purpose of providence, and the expressions of St Paul most naturally promise a conversion which is yet to come. Whitby has treated of the calling of the Jews, in his commentary on the xith chapter of the epistle to the Romans, and in an Appendix, where the reader will find the substance of all that can be said on this side of the question. I know of no satisfactory answer that ever was made to it.

The utmost that can be collected from the passages of scripture concerning this great event, is, that the gospel shall, before the consummation of all things, flourish more, and extend itself farther than at present; that Christianity shall be reformed, and reduced to its

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its primitive and genuine purity and simplicity, and have an happier effect upon the manners of its professors; and that many, at least, of the Jews and Gentiles, shall flow into the church.

But to descend to particulars is to indulge the most uncertain conjectures. Predictions in general, before their accomplishment, are never perfectly understood, and the metaphorical and figurative style of prophecy adds to the difficulty, and hath often misled the unwary interpreter. The expounding such sort of expressions, on this occasion, too literally, has produced strange and precarious notions amongst ancient and modern Christians concerning the *Millennium*: thus it has been supposed that Christ shall come and reign personally upon earth a thousand years, that the old Christian martyrs shall rise again to reign with him, that the Jews shall have a temple rebuilt, and a temple-service renewed, and that the righteous shall in those days enjoy the utmost temporal felicity; all which seems to agree neither with the abolishment of the ceremonial law, nor with the pure and spiritual nature of the gospel, nor with the promises of a true happiness which is to be expected not here below, but in the kingdom of heaven.

The conversion and the restoration of the Jews, and the calling of the Gentiles, if ever it be accomplished, must in all probability be performed by the visible manifestation of God's power and spirit, and not by ordinary and human means. This will appear, if we consider the present situation of the Jews, and of the unbelieving nations, and the impediments to their conversion, both from their own state, and from the state of Christianity.

When

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When the gospel was first preached, its progress was swift and extensive. If you ask why it was so, and how it came to pass, the reason is, that it was accompanied with a plentiful effusion of divine and preternatural gifts, with prophetic and miraculous powers; else it could never have prevailed, and even the prejudices of education would have kept it out from all lands.

Christianity at present is destitute of these aids, and is to be proved by no other ways than by inferences and deductions, and moral and historical proofs, which not only require learning and the exercise of reason in the teacher, but also a tolerable capacity in the persons to be taught. Now those men in general who make up the bulk of society, are incompetent judges of complicated moral evidence, and of probabilities; which makes it extremely difficult to introduce Christianity any where by mere argumentative methods, and by convincing the understanding.

The Mohammedans and Pagans are for the most part poor reasoners, and take up implicitly the religious opinions which they find established. Good sense and intellectual abilities are indeed natives of all climes; but they are not equally cultivated every where, and no where less than in those countries of which we are speaking, where the vulgar are often only a better sort of brutes, and a little above the monkeys. Man is in a great measure what education and instruction make him. Despotic government, which is an enemy to the free exercise of the understanding, and the danger of examining points of faith, increases the stupidity and ignorance in such places. Where the will of one insolent man is the only law, there is usually neither learning, nor courage, nor

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virtue, nor religion. The manners also and the customs of those nations are in some things directly contrary to the spirit of the gospel. The gospel restrains polygamy and divorce, enjoins chastity and humanity, orders servants or slaves to be kindly used, and the female sex to frequent the public worship of God, and therefore must be odious to those nations where different practices prevail. Hence it may be observed, that when Christianity, not long after the death of the apostles, made its way in some parts of the eastern world, it probably had the assistance of miracles, not only because of the hardships and persecutions which its professors then underwent, but because it contradicted the manners and customs of those who embraced it, and opposed itself to those indulgences and practices which men are never willing to give up, and which are to them a kind of second nature. This, joined to some testimonies in ecclesiastical history, is no bad argument to shew that miracles might continue somewhat longer than the apostolical age, and be performed upon some important occasions, particularly in preaching and establishing the gospel amongst infidels.

There is little reason to hope that Pagan and Mohammedan nations should be converted at present by the Christians. They are not at all disposed to receive the gospel, and to judge of the force of moral arguments and of strong probabilities. It would be a hard matter to convince them of the antiquity and the authority of our sacred books, not because our proofs are weak and defective, but because they are not acquainted with our chronology and history. Yet these impediments and difficulties are not such as should discourage the attempts made by our teachers and missionaries amongst the pagans in those countries

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countries where we have commerce and settlements. Such attempts are highly useful and commendable, and deserve public encouragement, and surely it is the duty of Christians, when they have means and opportunities, to relieve the spiritual, no less than the corporeal wants of their fellow-creatures.

The Jews are dispersed over the earth, and dwell in Mohammedan, in Pagan, and in Christian countries: so that, though by descent they are Jews, by birth they are Persians, Turks, Italians, &c. and partake in some measure of the genius and temper of the nations in which they are born and educated. By dwelling amongst Pagans and Mohammedans, and under tyrannical government, they learn to reason as little as their masters and their neighbours, and to go on implicitly in the faith of their forefathers. Their neighbours never dispute much about religion; and it is controversy and free debate that opens and enlarges the mind and improves the understanding; without this there is a dull stagnation of the intellectual faculties.

Besides this, the Jews were never remarkable for accurate and methodical reasoning, and their traditionary doctrines and mystical interpretations help to spoil their judgment.

"R. Falk began A. D. 1530. to exercise his "scholars in dispute, after the manner of the Chris-"tians: but this method did not please the wise, and "was not generally approved. The Jews, who have "a theology altogether mystical, and depending "more upon the imagination than upon reasoning, "have no taste for arguments and syllogisms." *Basnage* Hist. des Juifs, L. vii. c. 30. p. 2072.

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The Jews, in countries where Christianity is not established, lie out of the way of receiving instruction, if they were willing to hearken to it. Who should teach them? The Christians who dwell in those parts are poor, ignorant, superstitious, slavish men, and sometimes dishonest men also, and not qualified for preachers of the gospel: So that the conversion of the Jews cannot in all appearance begin in those regions.

The Jews dispersed in Christian countries dwell either in popish or in protestant nations. There is not the least probability that the papists should ever convert them. The violence which a man must offer to his own senses and reason, and the slavish deference that he must pay to human authority, before he can enter into that communion; the divine honours given to the Virgin Mary; the worship of angels, saints, crosses, wafers, coffins, bones, rags, old iron, reliques, pictures, and images, supported by ridiculous miracles and traditionary lies; the tyranny of the church, and the cruelty of the inquisition; these are insuperable obstructions to the conversion of the Jews, and excite in them prejudices against Christianity that are too strong and too plausible to be easily removed. The Jews abhor idolatry, and every thing that borders upon it, and in popish countries they have no notion of any other Christianity than what is there professed, and what they see before their eyes.

The Jews who dwell in protestant countries have not the same causes to dislike Christianity, which appears with more simplicity, which offers itself fairly to examination, which is purged from superstitious practices, and which forces itself upon no one with imperious insolence. But even in the reformed nations too many obstacles remain to prevent and discourage

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courage the conversion of that people; such as arise from the little influence which the gospel is observed to have upon the lives and manners of many of its professors; from the disunion of Christians, and their division and subdivision into various sects, which usually entertain no favourable opinion of each other.

If I should embrace Christianity, a Jew might say, I have just begun the laborious inquiry: it remains to consider to whom I should join myself, and here I am quite perplexed with your divisions.

If I should go over to the church of Rome, the protestants will condemn my judgment, and say that I have made a miserable choice; if I become a protestant, the papists will tell me I might as well have remained a Jew; schismatics and heretics are in their opinion in as bad a situation, and as much excluded from salvation, as Jews, Mohammedans, deists, sceptics, and atheists: If I am a protestant of this or that denomination, other sects of protestants will blame me, and think me still in a dangerous condition, and perhaps call me a schismatic.

Thus some Jews have reasoned: and that we may not be thought to have furnished them with objections which we cannot answer let us offer a short reply. It might then be said to the Jew; Search the Scriptures, and examine our arguments, and if they convince you, receive the Gospel, and believe in Christ. You are then his subject and his servant; for it is not your belonging to this or that church, that makes you a Christian, but your belief that Jesus is the Son of God, and the Messias. The rest you may do at your leisure, and it is not so laborious a task as you suspect. Only consider what the Protestant churches require of you, and judge which is the most reasonable

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able, and the most conformable to the New Testament. The church of England, in her form of *Baptism of those of riper years*, requires of you only an assent to the Christian religion in general, and to the apostles creed in particular.

Another impediment to the conversion of the Jews is, that in the Christian world there is much indifference and coldness towards religion, much dissoluteness of manners and dishonesty; that amongst us many sceptics, deists, and infidels are also to be found, who have deserted the faith in which they were educated. We may suppose, without any breach of charity, that in these respects the Jews are not better than the Christians, nor free from the same faults: that they have their doubters, and their unbelievers, besides those who mind nothing except the cares and concerns and vanities and diversions of this world, that they and we go, *one to his farm, and another to his merchandize*, whilst the prophets are little regarded by the Jew, and the apostles by the Christian.

Another great and well known difficulty in the conversion of the Jews (as also of the Mohammedans) is the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, which they have always been taught to look upon as not reconcileable with the unity of God. All that I shall say to this, is, that no one should attempt to remove this prejudice, and to satisfy them upon this subject, till he has brought them to believe the divine mission of Jesus Christ, and his character as Prophet, Messias, Teacher of truth, and Worker of miracles. If they will not admit the things relating to his offices and ministry, it would be a vain and useless undertaking to debate with them about the dignity of his nature. And when it is necessary to proceed to that part of Christianity,

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Christianity, this doctrine should be represented even as it is delivered in the New Testament, and no otherwise: and then many things may be observed concerning the Λόγος, the *angel of God's presence*, and the *angel of the Covenant*, from the Old Testament, and from Philo, and from some ancient Jewish writers. It will also be well worth the while to consider how the oldest Christian apologist now extant hath reasoned with the Jews upon the subject, as also how Limborch managed that part of the controversy with Orobius. What right hath a modern controvertist to require more from a Jew, than Justin Martyr required from Trypho? I might say, than the apostles and first preachers required from those whom they converted, when they admitted them to baptism? *And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest* [*be baptized.*] *And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.—And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.*

Hic autem ita me gessi, ut nullius peculiaris inter Christianos controversi dogmatis, sed solius Evangelii patrocinium susceperim: secutus judicium viri summi et Religionis Christianæ patroni ac vindicis omnium calculo prudentissimi, ac strenuissimi, Hugonis Grotii, qui in aureo suo et nunquam satis laudato De veritate Religionis Christianæ tractatu, non tantum eandem disputandi rationem observavit; sed et in epistola quadam ad Gerardum Joannem Vossium hanc instituti sui rationem reddit: Triados probationem in eo libro directe aggressus non sum, memor ejus quod a viro magno socero tuo audiveram, peccasse Plessæum et alios, quod rationibus a natura petitis, et Platonicis, sæpe non appositis, testimoniis, adstruere voluissent rem non ponendam

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nendam in illa cum Atheis, Paganis, Judæis, Mahumethistis disputatione, qui omnes ad sacras Literas ducendi sunt, ut inde talia hauriant, quæ nisi Deo semet patefaciente cognosci nequeunt. *Hinc quotiescunque Judæus ad dogmata quibusdam Christianis peculiaria, qualia plura in ipsius scripto occurrunt, me pertrahere conatus est, ego studiose id declinavi; ratus, contra hominem Novi Testamenti auctoritatem negantem frustra disputari de dogmatibus alibi aut non, aut saltem non clare revelatis, quorum proinde fides divinam Novi Testamenti autoritatem præsupponit: ac proinde sufficere, ut contra Judæum sola Evangelii divinitas adstruatur, de qua siquis argumentorum pondere convictus sit, eadem opera omnium quæ Evangelium tradit dogmatum veritas ac divinitas ipsi comprobata erit: quâ semel comprobatâ, ipse porro attenta adhibita Novi Testamenti lectione, omnibusque in timore Domini legitime examinatis, dijudicare poterit, quid de dogmatibus inter Christianos controversis consentanee veritati in Novo Testamento traditæ statuendum sit.* Limborch. *Præfat.*

Tandem concludit vir Doctus, quod Propheta, qui in seipsum ut verum Deum Israelis fidem exegerit, qui Dei omnipotentiam sibi arrogaverit, qui verba sua ut a se præcepta, populo indixerit, admitti non debet; et dato impossibili, quod Messias, quem Judæi expectant, eam doctrinam Israelem edoceret, jure foret ut pseudopropheta lapidandus. *Sed ego jam isti illationi occurri, quod Jesus Christus semper se Patris legatum et filium prædicet, et in se, ut talem, fidem exigat. Neque ulterius quicquam, ut necessario credendum, Evangelium exigit. Si qui plura ad salutem creditu necessaria decrevere, eorum decretis non teneor, qui solam Scripturam sacram unicam fidei meæ regulam agnosco. Ex illa itaque vir doctissimus, ut aliquoties monui, contra me argumentari*

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gumentari debet : non ex doctrinis, de quibus inter Christianos disputatur, et quarum fidem Scriptura nusquam sub amittendæ salutis pœna exigit. Respons. p. 296.

As miracles were the great instrument to convert the Jews and Gentiles in the apostolical age, so the absence of them at present must needs be a disadvantage as far as the propagation of Christianity is concerned.

The Jews will say, If the miracles recorded in your sacred books were really wrought, our ancestors were inexcusable in rejecting Christianity; but these are transactions of remote antiquity, and we cannot be charged at present with resisting such evidence. If it should please God to enable you to shew us the like wonders, you should find us more compliant. In the mean time we chuse to adhere to a religion, which you, as well as we, hold to have been of divine original. These arguments are not conclusive, but as they are not destitute of a plausible appearance, prejudiced persons will not easily give them up.

Thus the conversion of the Jews seems to be removed to a distant day; but the Scriptures, as we observed, give us reasons to expect it, and this expectation is much confirmed by the wonderful preservation of that people.

If therefore there be a time in the decrees of providence, when many who sit in darkness shall be enlightened, when the Everlasting Gospel shall be more generally known and received, and the Jews shall be called to partake of this blessing, it is to be supposed that the present obstructions to it will be removed, and in particular those which arise from Popery. Popery is the most degenerate form of Christianity that can be conceived, and lays an heavier yoke upon the

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the necks of Christians, than the Scribes and the Pharisees ever imposed upon the Jews. It is a religion which can never make its way but by cruelty and tyranny, by gibbets and inquisitions, nor be supported but by self-interest and ignorance; and yet as it is received by many great and polite, learned and flourishing nations, it seems at present secure from ruin. But the smaller hope, and the remoter prospect there is of the extinction of this tyranny, the more remarkable and the more providential will the downfall of it appear to all the world if ever it happens, and strike Jews and Mohammedans and Gentiles with amazement, and prepare the way for their conversion.

The next step towards the increase of Christ's kingdom must be a farther improvement of Christianity, and of those who receive and profess it. The church of Rome is not the only church that wants amendment. Other Christian societies which have separated themselves from her and from her grosser defects, are departed more or less from the original simplicity of the Gospel, and have mixed some doctrines of men with the word of God, and so stand in need of some improvement.

It is therefore to be hoped that a time will come when religion will have a fairer and a more alluring aspect, when Christians will be united, not in opinion as to all theological points, for that is impossible whilst men are men, but that they will be united in benevolence and charity, in intercommunion, and in one *common and simple profession of faith;* that their manners will be suitable to their profession, and that they will be more peaceable, more virtuous, and more pious; and then the external impediments to the conversion of unbelievers will in no small measure be removed.

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moved. These are amendments which seem, besides human efforts, to require such a concurrence of favourable circumstances as scarcely ever meet and are united together with supernatural aids, and an effusion of divine gifts and graces. Therefore, it may be said, such a change, such a regeneration of mankind, is not to be expected. And yet strange things have been accomplished. Who that had seen the dreadful destruction of Jerusalem could have thought that the Jewish nation, so enfeebled, so dispersed, so abhorred, and so oppressed in all places, would have subsisted for seventeen hundred ages? Who that had beheld the beginnings of Christianity, and the difficulties which it had to encounter, would have imagined that it should spread through the known world? Who that had seen a poor monk set his face against popes, and emperors, would have believed that the preaching of Luther should have brought about a reformation, and the establishment of the Protestant religion?

Nothing is too hard for Omnipotence; great and glorious changes, even a *new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness*, may be produced by instruments and by methods of which we are now ignorant, and which it is vain to seek out by conjectures. These *secret things* belong to the Lord our God, and to him we must leave them. Our duty is to do all that lies in our power towards encreasing his dominion, by studying to understand his Gospel, by a sober care and concern to live suitably to its holy precepts, and by not only wishing and praying, but endeavouring that his kingdom may come, and his will may be done on earth as it is in heaven.

In

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In this *Third Book*, the *Remarks* on *Ecclesiastical History* are brought down to the death of Constantine, to the year 337. And here the Author begs leave to detain the readers, in a page or two, with a subject, which though it may seem only to concern himself, yet he cannot well pass over in silence.

When he had the favour of being appointed to preach *Boyle's Lectures*, he drew up a plan for his Discourses, under these four heads:

I. Remarks on the Being and Perfections of God, and particularly, on his impartiality, and his goodness.

II. The nature, use, and intent of Prophecy, together with an examination of some predictions in the Old and in the New Testament.

III. Considerations on miracles in general, on the miracles of Christ and his apostles, and on the support which they give to the Christian religion.

IV. The Law of Moses and the Jewish religion set in a proper light, and defended from some objections ancient and modern.

The substance of his Discourses, upon the *second* and the *third* head is inserted in these *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*.

The noble and prudent *Donation* of our *Christian Philosopher* hath had suitable effects, and hath produced a *Printed* Collection of *Religious Lectures*, which, in the main, may be called learned and judicious, though they are not all of equal value.

The subject is copious; but a succession of hands will at length exhaust the most copious theme, and unavoidably occasion a repetition of the same thoughts and arguments, somewhat diversified in method and style.

This

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This, and the present cool demand for printed Sermons, may induce the Lecturers to content themselves with preaching, and to abstain from publishing.

But yet, if this fashion should obtain, there may be reason to fear that, in process of time, Mr Boyle's will have the same fate (though they deserve a better) with some other *Lectures*, and become mere *Wall-Lectures*, and Discourses calculated to exist for half an hour.

Between the two methods of publishing *all* or *none*, there seems to be a third, by which the discourses being stripped of every thing popular, trite, and redundant, may be thrown into the more learned and the more contracted form of *Dissertation*. This is the method which the author hath attempted, and which he takes the liberty to mention: not pretending in the least to dictate, and to prescribe laws, or even to offer advice to his successors; but only to make an apology for his own conduct, and to inform the public, which hath a right to ask and to know, how he hath endeavoured to execute a trust of a public nature committed to his care.

APPEN-

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APPENDIX

TO

BOOK III.

Eusebii Præparatio Evangelica.

THE *Præparatio* and the *Demonstratio Evangelica* of Eusebius are, like the rest of his works, useful and valuable treatises, and deserve a better edition, especially the former, in which are preserved many curious fragments of ancient writers. It is, says Fabricius, *collectio pulcherrima argumentorum, variorumque notatu dignissimorum monumentorum ac testimoniorum ex scriptoribus externis magnam partem hodie deperditis, qua animus lectores præparetur ad demonstrationes de veritate Evangelii Christi ex sacris literis tanto facilius imbibendas admittendasque.*

III. 41.

Mercury says;

Ὃς δ' ἐγώ, ὃν καλέεις, Ζηνὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱὸς,
Ἑρμῆς προβέβηκα, λιπὼν ἀγραῖον ἄνακτα.
Mercurius, quem voce vocas, Maiæque Jovisque
Filius huc veni, cœlesti rege relicto.

Vigerus reads Ἑρμῆς ὃς——Perhaps:

Ὧδ' ἐγὼ ὃν καλέεις, Ζηνὸς καὶ Μαίδος υἱὸς,
ΕΡΜΕΙΑΣ προβέβηκα.——

Observe,

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Observe, that in these oracles the gods themselves are supposed to speak.

V. 7.

An oracle of *Apollo Didymæus* begins thus:

Μητέρι μὲν μακάρων μέλεται Τιτηνίδι Ῥείῃ
Αὐλοὶ, καὶ τυμπάνων σάταγοι, καὶ θῆλυς ὅμιλος.
Rhea beatorum mater reginaque Divûm
Fœmineos cœtus, buxum, et vocalia tractat
Tympana.

Apollo stole this from the Hymn *in Matrem Deorum* which is called Homer's:

Ἣ, κρόταλων, τυπάνων τ' ἰαχῇ, σύν τε τρόμος αὐλῶν
Ἔναδεν.
Cui crotalorum, tympanorumque sonus, simulque strepitus tibiarum
Placuit.

In the oracle we ought to read, not τυμπάνων with a vowel made short before μπ, but τυπάνων, as in the *Hymn* to *Cybele*, τυπάνων, τ' ἰαχῇ, with Barnes and others. So in the *Atys* of Catullus 8.

Niveis citata cepit manibus leve typanum,

Typanum *tubam Cybelles, tua, Mater, initia.* Apollonius *Arg.* i.

Ῥόμβῳ καὶ ΤΥΠΑΝΩ Ῥείην Φρύγες ἰλάσκονται.

The rule is this: When a vowel is made short before two consonants, those consonants must be such as can begin a syllable, as κυ-κνος, &c. If any poets have violated this rule, of which there are some instances, it is a fault in them, and no examples can justify it.

Θῆλυς ὅμιλος, in the oracle, which Vigerus renders *cœtus fœmineus*, is *grex semivirorum*, the *Galli*, the castrated priests and servants of Cybele, who were vagabonds, thieves, beggars, and most infamous wretches.

The

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The priests of Isis, &c. used to carry their deities about to ask alms; upon which Tertullian says very prettily, that the Christians could not afford to relieve begging men and begging gods too: *Non enim sufficimus et hominibus, et Diis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre*, Apol. 42.

Van Dale would distinguish between the *Galli* and the *priests* of this goddess, and supposes the *Galli* to have been rascals of a lower rank.

V. 8.

An oracle of *Hecate*:

Ἠέριον μέλα * φέγγος ἀπείρίτον, ἀστεροπλῆθες,
Ἄχραντον σοῦ δῶμα θεῶν λίπον· ἣ δ' ἐπιβαίνω
Γαίης ζωοτρόφοιο, τεῆς ὑποθημοσύνῃσι,
Πειθοῖ τ' ἀῤῥήτων ἐπέων, οἷς δὴ φρένα τέρπει
Ἀθανάτων ἄδαῆ θνητῶν βροτός.
Aëriam lucem, et magni stellantia cœli
Culmina, divinos linquo sanctosque penates;
Telluremque peto quo me tua dicta vocarunt;
Visque arcana precum traxit, queis numina linguæ
Mortali mulcere datur.

Perhaps it should be thus:

Ἠέριον ΚΑΤΑ φέγγος ἀπείρίτον, ἀστεροπλῆθες,
Ἄχραντον σοῦ δῶμα ΘΕΩΝ λίπον, ΗΔ' ἐπιβαίνω
Γαίης ζωοτρόφοιο, τεῆσ' ὑποθημοσύνῃσι,
Πειθοῖ τ' ἀῤῥήτων ἐπέων, οἷς δὴ φρένα ΤΕΡΠΕΙΝ
Ἀθανάτων ΕΔΑΗ θνητῶν βροτός.

Vigerus corrects κέλα and τέρπειν. The rest is mine, θεῶν for θεῦ, ἣδ' for ἣ δ', ἐδάη *novit* for ἀδαῆ. Vigerus conjectures ἔαδε *placuit*, which is wrong, and makes a barbarism in the construction. It should be translated:

 ——*queis*

* Quid si μέγα φέγγος—says a friend of mine.

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——*queis pectora Divûm*
Mortalis mulcere potest.

V. 23.

Oenomaus complains that when he himself consulted Apollo on some very important affair, and desired his direction, he received this impertinent answer; Ἐκ ταυροφόου λάας σφενδόνης ἰεὶς ἀνὴρ, χῆνας ἐναρίζε βυλαῖσιν ἀσπέτους, πουπδόρους. *Gryovagâ lapides fundâ excutiens, anseres prudenter interfice immensos, herbivoros.*

There is no occasion to make Apollo talk more foolishly than he did; therefore we will try to mend his discourse a little. Vigerus, the editor of Eusebius, did not perceive that these were Trochaics, and that instead of βυλαῖσιν, *consiliis*, it should be βολαῖσιν, *ictibus*.

Ἐκ ταυροφόου λάας σφενδόνης ἰεὶς, ἀνὴρ,
Χῆνας ἐναρίζε βολαῖσιν ἀσπέτους, πουπδόρους.

Ἐνάριζε. For the sake of metre, we may read ἐναρίζε, from ἐναρίζομαι, or ἐνάρισον, from ἐναρίζω, or, which is better, ἐναρίζειν, *interficere*, by way of *ellipsis*, with *incipe*, *conare*, or some such verb understood. By this most ridiculous oracle, Oenomaus was advised to *go and kill geese, by flinging stones at them out a sling*.

By a certain anomaly and irregularity, the Greeks sometimes put the *infinitive* for the *imperative*. *Alia est phrasis, apud Græcos usitatissima, cujus exemplum est apud Herodotum* iv. c. 163. *ubi* infinitivus *est loco* imperativi: σὺ μέν τοι ἥσυχος εἶναι καβιεὶς ἐς τὴν σεωῦτου, *ad verbum*, tu quidem quietus esse redux in patriam. *Sic et apud Homerum*, Il. i. 255.

σὺ δὲ μεγαλήτορα θυμὸν
Ἴσχειν ἐν στήθεσσι.

Tu magnanimum animum habere in pectore. *Vide et* vers. 281. *Non potest subaudiri* δεῖ, oportet, *quod alio-*

ui

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qui subaudiri in ea phrasi solet, quia antecessit σὺ, tu. *Ne dixeris etiam subaudiendum μέμνησο*, memento ; *nam apud Hesiodum in hoc versu, ubi hæc ipsa est loquutio, verbum hoc intelligi nequit*, Oper. et Dier. 616.

ἀρότου μεμνημένος εἶναι
Ὡραίου.

Memor esse arationis tempestivæ, *nemo enim dixerit* memento memor esse. *Vide Vers.* 629. et 641. Clericus *Art. Crit.* T. i. p. 252.

But I believe that Le Clerc is a little mistaken, and that all these *anomalies* of the Greek language are *elliptical* forms of speech, and capable of being supplied one way or other ; and in Hesiod, though you cannot say, *remember to remember*, μέμνησο μεμνημένος εἶναι, yet you may say, *take care to remember*, φυλάττου μεμνημένος εἶναι.

As we are upon the subject of *oracles*, I shall produce two from *Socrates* the historian, which want emendation. H. E. iii. 23. p. 204.

1. The Rhodians, being under some calamity, and consulting an oracle, received this answer :

Ἄττιν ἱλάσκεσθαι, θεὸν μέγαν, ἀγνὸν Ἄδωνιν,
Εὔβιον, ὀλβιόδωρον, εὐπλόκαμον Διόνυσον.
Attin Deum magnum placate, purum Adonim,
Bonæ vitæ et felicitatis largitorem, pulchra coma præditum Bacchum.

I wonder how Valesius could let such lines pass uncorrected. This *Atys* is so differently spelt and declined, that we cannot determine whether it should be Ἄττην, or Ἄττιν, or Ἄττῑν', or Ἄττυν, or Ἄττυν, or something else. We may read,

Ἄττην ΙΛΑΣΚΕΣΘΕ, θεὸν μέγαν, ἁγνὸν Ἄδωνιν.

2. The *Delphic oracle*, in complaisance to Alexander the Great, made him a god.

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Ζῆνά θεῶν ὕπαλον, ἠδ' Ἀθηνᾶν Τριτογένειαν
Τιμᾶτε βροτέων ἐν σώμασι κρυπτὸν ἄνακτα,
Ὃν Ζεὺς ἀρίστοις γονεῦσιν ἔσπειρεν ἀρωγὸν
Εὐνομίης θνητοῖσιν Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλῆα.
Jovem Deum summum et Minervam Tritogeniam
Colite in mortali corpore absconditum regem,
Quem felici satu genuit Jupiter, vindicem
Justitiæ mortalibus Alexandrum regem.

Worship, said the priestess, Jupiter, and his daughter Minerva, and his son Alexander. It should be,

Ζῆνα θεῶν ὕπαλον, ἠδ' Ἀθηνᾶν Τριτογένειαν
Τιμᾶτε, ΒΡΟΤΕΩ, Τ' ἐν σώμασι κρυπτὸν ἄνακτα,
Ὃν Ζεὺς ΑΡΡΗΤΟΙΣΙ *γονεῦσιν* ἔσπειρεν—

ἀῤῥήτοισι is the emendation of Valesius.

IX.

In this book, Eusebius hath inserted several lines of a miserable Jewish bard, called *Ezechiel Tragicus*, which deserved not the honour of being transcribed. Clemens Alexandrinus hath also regaled his readers with some of them. *Strom.* i. p. 414. and Fabricius gives an account of this Ezechiel, *Bibl. Gr.* i. p. 679. His verses are very faulty, either though his own ignorance and stupidity, or from injuries done to him by the librarians.

Many of the lines might easily be mended; but upon such an author the labour would be ill bestowed. *In scowring an ass's head*, says somebody, *nothing is lost but soap and pains*. But soap and pains are too good to be thrown away.

Gentianus Hervetus thought him an elegant poet; *De La Monnoye*, a man of better taste, speaks of him with the contempt which he deserves, and supposes that he wrote in the first or second century. *Huetius* places

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places him an hundred years at least before Christ. It is no great matter when he lived: but I should imagine him to be at least an hundred years older than *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who cites him, and who flourished towards the end of the second century. See *Baillet* Jug. des Savans, T. iv. p.

X. 10.

——καὶ κατακλυσμοί τε, καὶ ἐκπυρώσεις, Προμηθεὺς, Ἰὼ, Εὐρώπη, * Σπαρτοὶ, Κόρης ἁρπαγὴ——*diluvia, incendia, Prometheus, Io, Europa, * Proserpinæ raptus*——

They are the words of Africanus, who is speaking of the Greek mythology. Σπαρτοὶ. *Supplendum credo, vel ὀδόντες, vel τραπέζωται, vel aliquid simile. Omnino enim post Europam, de Cadmo, Cadmique militibus ex Draconis dentibus repente satis, locutus videtur.*

So Vigerus, who saw the meaning of the place, but was mistaken in thinking that it wanted emendation; for the soldiers who sprang from the dragon's teeth, are called Σπαρτοὶ by the Greeks, and *Sparti* by the Latins. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 178. and Munker.

XI. 31.

Eusebius, and the fathers in general, were of opinion that Plato borrowed several things from Moses and the prophets; but the proofs which they produce are usually by no means conclusive and satisfactory.

He says here, Τῆς Ἑβραίων γραφῆς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ δημιουργήματος ἐπιφωνήσας, Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς, ὅτι καλὸν· καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πάντων συγκεφαλαιώσει φασκούσης, Καὶ εἶδεν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἰδοὺ, καλὰ λίαν. Ἄκνει τῷ Πλάτωνος λέγοντος, Εἰ μὲν δὴ καλός ἐστιν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ὅ, τε δημιουργὸς ἀγαθὸς, δῆλον ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἀΐδιον ἔβλεπε. Καὶ πάλιν, Ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλλιστος τῶν γεγονότων, ὁ δ' ἄριστος τῶν αἰτίων. Quum etiam, ut quodque perfectum erat divinum opus, hanc

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sacræ Literæ clausulam identidem adjecerint, *Et vidit Deus quod bonum esset:* itemque ut simul omnia comprehenderent, *Et vidit Deus omnia, et ecce valde bona erant:* Platonem audi sic loquentem, *Atqui si bonus est hic Mundus, si bonus ejusdem Artifex, profecto speciem æternitatis imitari maluit.* Atque iterum, *Nam uti Mundus omnium quæ condita sunt optimus est, ita Deus Artificum omnium optimus.*

Surely a Pagan philosopher might say, that the world was

The fairest offspring of the fairest mind,

without having seen the books of Moses. Eusebius might have produced a passage more remarkable, and more to his purpose, from Plato's *Timæus*, p. 37. where it is said, that when God saw the world which he had made begin to live and move, he was greatly pleased. Ὡς δὲ κινηθέν τε αὐτὸ καὶ ζῶν ἐνεφάνη τοῖς ἀϊδίων θεῶν γεγονὸς ἄγαλμα ὁ γεννήσας πατὴρ, ἠγάσθη τε καὶ εὐφρανθείς.—*Postquam igitur universi Pater atque progenitor opus illud a se creatum animadvertisset et moveri et vivum esse. Deorum immortalium, natum tamen atque creatum simulacrum, mirum in modum gavisus est atque oblectatus illo suo opere.* To which we may add the fable of Jupiter, mentioned by some mythologist, that when he was born, he laughed for seven days together.

Socrates, in the *Phædo*, relates μῦθον καλὸν, an elegant history, concerning an earth altogether resplendent and beautiful, adorned with the brightest colours, whose rocks and solid parts were all precious stones, and exhibited σαρδιά τε καὶ ἰάσπιδας καὶ σμαράγδους—

Eusebius might also have compared this narrative with *Isaiah* liv.—*I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and thy foundations with sapphires, and will make thy gates of carbuncles:* &c.

Ezekiel

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Ezekiel xxviii. *In Eden the garden of God, every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz and diamond, the sapphire, the jasper*, &c.

Whence *Tobit* says, xiii. that Jerusalem should be built with *sapphires, emeralds, precious stones*, &c. and St John, *Rev.* xxi. saw her descend from heaven, thus adorned with every precious stone.

And yet I would not venture to affirm that Plato was acquainted with the Scriptures, but leave it as a moot point.

XV. 22.

We have here a Dissertation of *Plotinus*, in which that philosopher proves very well that the soul is an immaterial, simple, indivisible substance.

XV. 62.

After an account of the various disagreeing opinions of the learned Pagans, Eusebius concludes with some lines of *Timon Phliasius*, who wrote satyrs called *Silli*, in which he ridiculed the vain and violent contentions of the philosophers. These poems were a species of the *burlesque*, and consisted of verses taken from Homer, and with small alterations, accommodated and applied to the subject.

Τίς γὰρ τόσδ' ὁλοῇ ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;
Ἠχῦς σύνδρομος ὄχλος· ὁ γὰρ σιωπῶσι χολωθείς,
Νῦσον ἐπ' ἀνέρας ὦρσε λάλην, ὀλέκοντο δὲ πολλοί.

•

Φοιβᾷ δὲ βροτολοιγὸς Ἔρις κενὸν λελακυῖα,
Νείκης ἀνδροφόνοιο κασιγνήτη καὶ ἑταίρη,
Ἣ τ' ἀλαὴ ποσὶ βαιὰ κυλίνδεται. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ἐς βρίθος ἐσήριξε κάρη, καὶ ἐς ἐλπίδα βάλλει.
Ecquis eos diro pugnæ inflammavit amore?
Concurrens linguæ fremitus: namque ille, silentum

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Impatiens, morbi contagia fœda loquacis
Immisit: sœvo multi periere veneno.

*

Dira lues hominum, contentio, vanaque jactans,
Mortiferique soror Belli, Pugnæque ministra,
Invadit, cæcoque diu rapta impete, tandem
Confirmat gravitate caput, spemque objicit altro.

These verses are also to be found in Clemens Alex. *Strom.* v. p. 651. with some variation.

v. 2. The first and second syllables of ὀιωπῶσι coalesce. In Clemens σιγῶσι.

4. Φοίᾳ. Perhaps Φοίτα. But the present tense may be right.

κεινὸν. Read κενεὸν from Clemens.

λελαχυῖα, with the second syllable short.—Hesiod has

Δαιμονίη, τί λέλακας ;—

with the second syllable long. *Oper. et D.* 207.

5. ἔριλος. in Clemens ἔριδος. At least, it should be ἔριος. But this, though it mends the verse, will not mend the bad sense; for how can Ἔρις be the sister of herself? Perhaps,

Νείκης ἀνδροφόνοιο κασιγνήτη, ἠ ἑταίρη.

As in Homer, *Il.* Δ. 441.

Ἄρεος ἀνδροφόνοιο κασιγνήτη, ἑτάρη τε.

If the rest was like this specimen, the loss of it is not to be regretted. In this sort of wit, in *parodies*, the moderns have infinitely surpassed the ancients, who have, I think, only *one* ingenious poem of this kind; but that poem hath a fault which spoils all its beauties, and is scandalously obscene. It is no matter whose it is, or where it is to be found.

REMARKS

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REMARKS

ON

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

A. D. 337. THE Emperor Constantius, instead of exerting his authority in keeping the peace amongst his quarrelsome subjects, became a bigotted patron of the Arians, and suffered them to use the Consubstantialists very cruelly, unless the fathers and historians of those times have deceived us. Some abatements must doubtless be made, on account of their party zeal, at a time when the controversy was so hot.

Ammianus Marcellinus represents him as a prince who was of his own nature *inter bonos et malos medius;* as weak, timorous, suspicious, listening to informers and to flatterers, and cruel towards all who truly or falsely were accused of treason. His lord of the bedchamber and first minister of state was one Eusebius, an eunuch, and a vile fellow, with whom, as * Ammianus smartly observes, Constantius had a tolerable share of interest; *apud quem, si vere dici debet, multa Constantius potuit.*

Constantius was chaste, temperate, and well skilled in military exercises.

Socrates

* xviii. 4. where see the notes.

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Socrates * gives an account how Arianism began to flourish under Constantius. According to this historian, who by the way was a sworn enemy to the sect, an Arian presbyter, having free access to the palace, taught his doctrines to the principal eunuch; he to his brethren the slaves and eunuchs of the family; they to the girls and maids of honour; these to the life-guards; and all of them to the empress; and she to the emperor. From the court it presently got into the city, and became the daily subject of conversation in the streets, public houses, and markets. Then came quarrels, and then blows. Synods were called together, and the public revenues suffered not a little by supplying post-chaises for these everlasting episcopal journies, says Marcellinus.

Constantius christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens, in qua scrutanda perplexius quam componenda gravius, excitavit dissidia plurima, quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum: ut catervis Antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus, per synodos *quas appellant dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur arbitrium, rei vehicularie succideret nervos* †.

Better was the state of the church, in some respects, before the days of Constantine, when Clemens Alexandrinus, and other fathers, could maintain some fantastical errors and philosophical reveries, without being persecuted, excommunicated, and anathematized by their brethren.

Athanasius speaking of the Arian council of Ariminum, reproaches those bishops, that in their profession of faith, they had dethroned Jesus Christ, and had

* ii. 2. † xxi. 16.

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had set up Constantius in his place. You preface your creed, says he, with compliments to Constantius, whom you call δεσπότην, your *supreme master*, and αἰώνιον βασιλέα, *everlasting king*; but you will not call Christ ἀΐδιον, eternal. The Arians were not so wicked as to prefer Constantius to Christ, and so far the charge of Athanasius was too severe, and rather witty than true: but the compliments paid to the emperor by these bishops were really scandalous. The only thing that can be said for them is that such *titles*, like some of our *modern titles*, are always supposed to be words without a meaning, and a kind of polite jargon.

It is strange that Christian emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries would suffer themselves to be called *Your Eternity*, *Your Divinity*, *Your Godship*, *Numen* *.

George, bishop of Alexandria, persecuted both the Consubstantialists and the Pagans of Alexandria, and would compel them all to conform to his opinions. He was hated by the populace, because he ruled them like a tyrant; and by men of rank and quality, because he presumed to domineer even over magistrates and governors. The Pagans held him in abomination, because he would not let them sacrifice, and observe their religious rites, and because, taking soldiers with him, he plundered their temples of every thing that he could carry off.

If we had this account of him only from Sozomen and other Consubstantialists, there might be some room

* See Vossius *de Idol.* iii. 17. Barthius on Claudian, iii. *Cons. Honor. Præf.* 16. and Le Clerc, *Parrhasian*, i. 331.

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room to suspect that they had aggravated his faults. But Ammianus gives him a very bad character:

"Born, as it was reported, in a fuller's house, and raised up to the detriment of many, unhappily for himself and for the public, he was made bishop of Alexandria, a city which even by its own disposition and without any provocation, is prone to frequent and violent seditions.—But these tumults were not a little increased by the behaviour of the bishop, who whispered his tales in the credulous ears of Constantius, and accused many of disobedience and rebellion, and took up the detestable trade of an informer, forgetting his own profession, which recommends nothing but what is just and mild. He and two more were murdered; and these miserable men might have been saved and protected by the Christians, if George had not been an object of universal hatred *."

Sandius, in his *Nucleus Hist. Eccles.* seems to represent this bishop as a saint and a martyr.

About these times the encroaching Julius, bishop of Rome, claimed much more authority than belonged to him †.

Whilst the Arian controversy was warmly carried on, Athanasius and his partizans went to Rome, and engaged Julius in their favour, by putting themselves under his protection. There they contributed, though it was not their intention, to augment the insolence and the usurpations of the Romish see; for the good pope neglected not his own interest, and followed the important maxim, *Boni Præsulis est ampliare jurisdictionem* ‡.

They

* Amm. Marc. xxii. 11.

† Socrates, ii. 17. where see Valesius and Louth. Sozomen, iii. 8,

‡ See S. Basnage *Ann.* ii. 783. Wetstein. *Prol. ad N. T.* p. 19,

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They were like the poor horse in the fable, who having taken the man on his back, to fight the stag, brought a cursed slavery on himself, and entailed it on his posterity:

Non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.

In the time of Constantius, Sapor the Persian king besieged Nisibis, but could not take it, many miracles being wrought for its protection by James, the bishop of that city. So * Theodoret assures us. Valesius observes that Theodoret hath made some mistakes in his relation of the story.

James of Nisibis is said to have been a very good man, and a worker of several miracles. His piety we have no reason to call in question: of his miracles there is some cause to doubt. Here is one of them, by way of sample, as it is gravely related by Theodoret and Theodorus Lector:

As James was come into Persia, he passed by a fountain, where some young women were washing their linens, who making an indecent appearance, instead of covering themselves, stared at him in an impudent manner. Upon this he cursed the fountain, which instantly dried up, and changed the hair of the girls from a black to a sandy-colour. Being humbly intreated by the inhabitants of the town, he restored the fountain to them; but left the girls their red (or gray) hair, because they had not applied to him, and begged pardon *.

Gallus, the brother of the emperor Julian, took up the body of the martyr St Babylas, and devoutly transported it from Antioch to Daphne; which he did by *inspiration*, says Chrysostom *De Babyla.* He loved,

ii. 30. † Tillemont, H. E. vii. 261. S. Basnage ii. 865.

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loved, it seems, to prate about religion, and held martyrs and martyrs' bones in great veneration, and had, as Jerom informs us a princely disposition, *regiam indolem*. In truth, he was a worthless, stubborn, cruel prince. A proper person to have inspirations, and angels and saints at his bed's head!

En animam et mentem, cum qua Dî nocte loquantur!

What Marcellinus relates concerning visions of another sort presenting themselves to Gallus, seems more probable:

"When he slept, his sleep was restless, and he was haunted in his dreams by terrible apparitions; and those whom he had slain, seized him, as he thought, and dragged him away and tormented him *."

It was contrary to the Roman laws, and according to the common notions of mankind it was ever accounted an irreligious and sacrilegious thing, to disturb the ashes of the dead: unless they had died abroad, and were brought back to their own country †.

Qui corpus perpetuæ sepulturæ traditum, vel ad tempus alicui loco commendatum nudaverit, et solis radiis ostenderit, piaculum committit ‡.

Babylas is said on this occasion to have put the devil to flight, and to have silenced the Oracle of Apollo Daphnéus. Julian afterwards sent the martyr back

* xiv. 11.

† Upon a monument, mentioned by Mabillon, are engraved these words;

Qui hic minxerit, aut cacaverit, habeat Deos superos et inferos iratos.

‡ Paulus *Recept. Sentent.* L. i.

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back, civilly enough, to his own original grave, where the Christians would not let him lie at quiet, but moved him again to some other place; for in those days the bones of a martyr had as little rest as a dog in a wheel.

Constantius, who was a zealous relique-monger, ordered the body of Timothy to be brought from Ephesus, and those of St Andrew and St Luke from Achaia to Constantinople; and thus (A. D. 356.) began the carrying of reliques from place to place, and the invention of ten thousand lies concerning the wonders wrought by the dead; all which must have greatly scandalized the Pagans *.

It is observable that the saints, whose *exuviæ* wrought so many miracles in the fourth and following centuries, lost all their power or inclination to perform them at the reformation. Doubtless they were offended at the wickedness of the Protestants, and grew sullen upon it: as Catullus observes concerning the Pagan gods †:

Sed postquam tellus scelere est imbuta nefando,—
Omnia fanda, nefanda, malo permista furore
Justificam nobis mentem avertere Deorum.
Quare nec tales dignantur visere cœtus,
Nec si contingi patiuntur lumine claro.

A. D. 344. Sapor, the Persian king, instigated by the Magi, and by the Jews, persecuted his Christian subjects, and put multitudes of them to death, who suffered with the utmost constancy and courage the most

* Fabricius *B. Gr.* vii. 172. S. Basnage ii. 835. Middleton *Pref.* to *Letter from Rome.*

† Epith. Thet. & Pel.

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most inhuman and horrible tortures; which is a good proof that they were virtuous and pious people. It is well known that the Persians were always barbarous and brutish in their punishments; it is usually so in despotic governments. Sozomen * gives an account of this persecution. The relation is simple, honest, reasonable, and very different from the style and manner of most of the martyrologies; and it was probably taken from the memoirs of the Christians of Persia, Syria, and Edessa, who lived at the time. The sufferings of these Persian Christians were accompanied with no miracles, with none of the fantastical prodigies so often recorded on those occasions, which makes the narrations the less liable to suspicion.

It is to be supposed that these eastern Christians, who had lived by connivance and toleration under a Pagan king, were better and more religious men than the Christian subjects of Constantius, who had nothing to fear at that time from unbelievers, and no persecution to endure, except that which they carried on against each other with wonderful alacrity.

A meteor was seen in the east, and at Jerusalem, representing a cross: and was accounted a miraculous sign †.

A. D. 361. Eusebius of Samosata had been suspected and accused of Arianism; yet he was a Consubstantialist. The Arians and the Consubstantialists had agreed to chuse Meletius to be bishop of Antioch, and subscribed to it, each party imagining that he was on their side. The Arians, finding themselves mistaken in their man, wanted to get the subscription out

* ii. 9. † Socrates ii. 28. Sozomen.

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out of the hands of Eusebius, with whom it had been deposited, to be kept by him. Constantius therefore sent an officer to command him to deliver it up, and to tell him that if he refused, his right hand was immediately to be cut off by the emperor's order. This was a stratagem contrived to intimidate him; for the emperor did not intend that the threatening should be executed. Eusebius held forth both his hands, and bade him cut them off; for, said he, I will not betray the trust. When Constantius heard of it, he greatly admired and commended the prelate for his courage and constancy. Valens afterwards banished Eusebius, and sent an officer to carry him away to Thrace. The officer came and told his order to Eusebius, who advised him by all means to keep it secret; for, said he, the people here are so full of zeal, that if they knew your errand, they would instantly rise, and seize you, and fling you into the river; and so I should be the unhappy cause of your death. Eusebius therefore at midnight silently departed with the messenger.

An Arian bishop was put in his place; but the people of Samosata would not speak to the new prelate, and shunned the very sight of him.

A. D. 341. Of the canons of the council of Antioch, the twenty-fifth is concerning ecclesiastical revenues. It orders that bishops shall have out of them as much as sufficeth for food and raiment, and exercising hospitality, and no more *.

A. D. 350. The Emperor Constans was slain by the tyrant Magnentius. Athanasius and Baronius

 make

* S. Basnage ii. 778. Fleury iii. 286.

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make him a saint and a martyr, titles to which he had small pretensions. But he had been an *High-Churchman*, and that was enough.

" *Constans*, says Athanasius, *a most holy prince, was murdered by the execrable Magnentius, and received the crown of martyrdom.* There are indeed many proofs that Constans was full of zeal for the church: but if we may say the plain truth, his morals were most unworthy of a Christian and a martyr. When a prince shewed an affection for the bishops, and for the peace of the church, as a kind of atonement for his vices, the ancients complimented him with the title of *Most Religious*, and bestowed it even upon Gallienus. Though willing to commend whatsoever was commendable in Constans, yet we cannot approve his dissolute life *.

Zonaras gives him an exceeding bad character.

In this century, the monastic life came into great vogue, and along with it pious frauds, and the spirit of persecution.

" Many monks, for a considerable time before, had dwelt each of them alone in the desart parts of Egypt: but Antony, in the year 305, first collected them into societies in Egypt. So that in a short time the east abounded with men, who forsaking the affairs and the conveniences of life, and all commerce with the public, pined away in hunger, thirst, bodily pain, and macerations of all sorts, that they might ascend to a communion with angels and with God."

This melancholy discipline passed over from the east to the west; and first it crept into Italy, and thence by degrees into other provinces of Europe. But

* Basnage ii. 810.

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But they who would be well acquainted with the nature of this religious system, should observe that there was ever a wide difference between the western and the eastern monks, and that the former could never be tied up to the cruel severities which were practised by the latter. The truth is, our part of the world doth not so much abound with persons by nature rigid, morose, fanatical, and crack-brained, as those regions do which are exposed to the eastern sun; nor can our bodies endure the same abstinence and harsh discipline, which they are capable of bearing, who are natives of a dry and burning climate.

To these religious distempers, two capital errors are to be added, which in this age were almost generally adopted, and from which innumerable calamities were derived.

The first is, To lie and to deceive becomes a virtue, if religion can be profited by it. The second is, The wrong notions and mistakes of men in matters of faith, if upon admonition they are not renounced and anathematized, are to be chastised with bodily pains and punishments.

It is hardly possible to enumerate the multitude of ridiculous legends, false reports, and pious lies, which was propagated and continued through all ensuing ages, to the grievous detriment of true religion, by virtue of the first of these maxims, which indeed had found reception in the foregoing centuries, in some measure. A curious and critical examiner of the actions and writings of the most eminent and pious doctors of this age, will, I fear, find almost all of them infected with this leprosy, not excepting Ambrose, or Hilary, or Augustin, or Gregory Nazianzen, or Jerom. And perhaps by the same principle, Sulpitius

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Severus, in other respects a man of good sense, was induced to ascribe so many miracles to his hero St Martin.

The latter of the above mentioned maxims, being approved by many, as soon as Constantine had given peace and power to the church, and corroborated by examples of severity in the ensuing contests with the Priscillianists and Donatists, and firmly established by the authority of Augustin, was transmitted as wholesome doctrine and discipline, to the following ages*."

Many serious Christians would not be so misled by the miracles of the fourth and following centuries, or so perplexed about them, or so fearful of rejecting them, if they had considered how soon a notion got admittance, that it was lawful to lie and to deceive in behalf of Christianity and of orthodoxy.

"In the time of Constantine and of his successors, the *papyrus*, or Egyptian paper, was still in vogue throughout the empire. It was in this age, or thereabouts, that was written the famous copy of the Gospel of St Mark, which is still kept in the treasury of Venice. I have seen and examined it, as far as one can examine a manuscript which is almost entirely effaced, and so rotten that the leaves sticking together, if you try to turn over one, all falls to pieces. These leaves of Egyptian paper seemed more delicate than any of those which I have seen in different places. By the form of the letters, it appeared to me the most ancient manuscript that is known; and I believe it may safely be affirmed that, to set it at the lowest time, it is of the fourth century. It is now 146 years since it hath been deposited in a subterraneous vault, the

* Mosheim, H. E. p. 168.

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the top of which is lower than the neighbouring sea, when it flows. So that the water continually drops upon those whose curiosity brings them to view it. This extreme dampness has reduced the poor book to such a condition that there is no possibility of reading two words together. But it was legible, when it was first placed there, in 1564.

" The tax upon the importation of this paper being too heavy, towards the end of the fifth century, or the beginning of the sixth, Theodoric, king of Italy, an equitable prince, relieved the public of this imposition *."

This Gospel of St Mark is in Latin.

Julian began to reign A. D. 361, and died in 363. This emperor had tolerable abilities, and a few good qualities, debased with ridiculous and pedantic singularities, and with great faults. He was a superstitious pagan, and an inveterate enemy to Christianity. He was guilty of many mean, infamous, oppressive, unjust, and inhuman actions towards the Christians. Thus he ungratefully suffered Mark, bishop of Arethusa, a venerable old man, to be cruelly tormented by the Pagans, though Mark had saved Julian's life, by hiding him in a church, in his infancy.

The causes which brought on his apostacy might be perhaps a hatred for Constantius, whom indeed he had no great reason to esteem, a love for philosophy, the Arian and Athanasian controversy carried on with so much fury, and the behaviour of many ecclesiastics, which had not been amiable and alluring, a study of

* Montfaucon, *Mem. de L'Acad.* t. ix. & *Ant. Expl. Suppl.* t. iii. p. 208. & *Diar. Ital.* Cave i. 24.

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Pagan authors, and a familiar acquaintance with pagan grammarians, poets, orators, and philosophers. The platonists took early possession of him, and made him not only a pagan, but an enthusiast like themselves.

It is a question not easily to be resolved, whether the Christians might or might not have found some method to soften him, and to make him at least a cooler adversary. For on the one hand, Julian loved to be praised; and on the other, he was extremely obstinate and positive. *Nusquam a proposito declinabat; Galli similis fratris, licet incruentus;* says Ammianus. They might have commended what was really commendable in him, and have intreated him to imitate the wise Ulysses (for Julian was a classical man), who in Homer had the lovely character of being *father of all his subjects* *: a character which no prince could hope to obtain, unless he left every one free to chuse his religion, and to serve the deity in his own way. But they had not amongst them one apologist, to try the experiment, and to address him a discourse handsomely drawn up in favour of religious liberty. Some Pagan philosophers undertook the honourable task, and exhorted Julian to allow all persons liberty of conscience. To say the truth, the Christians in Julian's time were not in that way of thinking.

"There was at Berœa a man illustrious on account of his rank and station, but more so for his religious zeal. His son had apostatized from the faith, and embraced Paganism; for which he expelled him from his house and disinherited him. The young man applied to Julian, who undertook to reconcile him to his father, and invited the principal persons of Berœa

* —σφίσι δ' ὡς πάτιος ἦεν. Odyss. B. 233.

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Berœa to an entertainment, amongst whom were the father and the son. Julian caused them to sit down by him, and after some time he said to the father, It seems to me not reasonable to force the inclinations; therefore do not compel your son to follow your opinions, as I do not compel you to follow mine, though I have it in my power to use violence. Then the father, animated with a pious zeal, replied, Do you speak to me, Sir, in favour of a rascal abhorred of God, who hath preferred lies to the truth? Friend, said Julian, putting on the appearance of gentleness, let us have no invectives: and turning to the son, he added, I will take care of you myself, since I cannot prevail with your father. This fact I thought it convenient to record, to shew the admirable boldness of this excellent man."

Thus says Theodoret *. But some persons perhaps will be inclined to call the bishop's judgment in question, and to think that the father did not act prudently, and that he lost an opportunity of doing more service to the Christian cause than could arise from discarding his son. He might have said to the emperor, Though I am greatly displeased and concerned at my son's bad choice, yet at your desire I will not disinherit him, upon condition that you will grant us the same favour, that you will not disinherit us, that you will consider yourself as our common parent, and not oppress your Christian subjects, or suffer others to insult and injure them.

Justinian made a law that a son should not be disinherited for entering into a state of monkery against his father's will.

Though

* iii. 22.

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Though the heart of Julian was fully set on subverting Christianity, yet he omitted the most probable way to effect it, which would have been to chuse some person of family, reputation, and abilities, and of his own religion, and to adopt him for his son and successor, who might carry on the great and important scheme which he had begun, and re-establish paganism. Either he could not find a man altogether to his mind, or he was not willing to share his power with another, or he feared lest he should be served as he had served Constantius, and raise up a Cæsar who might forget his obligations. But by avoiding and declining this method, his wild and ill-concerted plan of destroying Christianity fell with him, which was no more than he might easily have foreseen. After a very short reign, like the persecuting emperors before him, he was cut off in the midst of his days, in his expedition against the Persians, undertaken rashly, and conducted wretchedly.

"They who represent Julian as the greatest of men * and of princes, either are blinded by prejudice, or never attentively perused his works, or know not the qualities which make a man truly great and good. Take away his ingeniousness, which yet was by no means superlative, his military prowess, his love of literature, his knowledge of the later Platonism, which was a fanatical jargon, and his patience in bearing toil and fatigue, the rest was a small matter. To his good qualities many bad ones stand opposed; as a contemptible superstition; which is a sure mark of a little mind, a childish affectation of popular applause, an excessive credulity and levity, a crafty and disingenuous

* As Montesquieu, and others.

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genuous spirit, and an ignorance of solid and rational philosophy. If in some things he was a greater prince than any of the sons of Constantine, he was much inferior to Constantine, though he ever affected to scorn and to censure him *."

Julian invited Chrysanthus, and other philosophers and magicians, to come and live at court. Chrysanthus declined the favour; and being appointed high-priest of Lydia by the emperor, he exercised his function with great moderation. He rebuilt no temples, whilst the Pagans in other places were very busy at that work, and he did no harm to the Christians. He and a few other philosophers behaved themselves prudently on this flattering occasion, as forseeing † without the help of magic, the revolution which might probably soon ensue. These rats did not care to sail in a rotten ship.

Julian in an epistle to Arsacius, says;

I am willing to relieve the Pessinuntians, if they restore the worship of the mother of the gods; else they may expect from me, not only no favour, but nothing less than the effects of a just resentment:

Οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν, ἠ ἐλεαίρειν
Ἄνδρας, οἵ κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθονται ἀθανάτοισιν.

Thus they have given us these lines, in Sozomen ‡. But the second line may be corrected thus;

ΑΝΕΡΑΣ, οἵ ΚΕ θεοῖσιν ΑΠΕΧΘΩΝΤ' ἀθανάτοισιν.

Julian took them from Homer §;

Οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν, οὐδ' ἀποπέμπειν
Ἄνδρα τὸν, ὅς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθηται μακάρεσσιν.
Non enim mihi fas est excipere neque dimittere
Virum illum, qui diis invisus sit beatis.

The

* Mosheim, 147. † See Tillemont *H. des Emp.* iv. 512.
‡ v. 16. § Odyss. K. 73.

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The Romans were plagued with a set of public officers, belonging to the emperor's court, called *Curiosi*, and *Imperatoris Oculi*, part of whose employment was to go about as detectors of frauds and misdemeanors. These *trading justices* used to commit to prison whom they thought fit, and extort money from the innocent, and share the plunder with the guilty; and Libanius represents them as the vilest of mankind. Constantius (A. D. 355.) published a law to curb them, leaving them only the office of *informers*, and threatening to make examples of them, if they accused any man falsely. But Julian took a shorter and a more effectual method, and totally suppressed them, and cleared the palace and the country of this vermin. They crept into office again, and were turned out by Honorius *.

These men were called *The eyes of the emperor*. The prophets of old were called *the mouth of the Lord* †. Perhaps, says Dodwell ‡, the Hebrews imitated the eastern princes, who gave to their ministers the names of those members of the body, whose functions represented their office. Thus in Persia, there were officers who were called *the eyes of the king* §; others, *the ears of the king*. And it is not improbable that Zachariah ‖ alludes to this custom, when he calls seven angels *the seven eyes of God*.

Julian kept a devil, by way of running footman, and sent him from Persia, to bring him back word what was passing in the west. But Publius the monk stopped him, by continuing in prayer for ten days together.

* Cod. Theod. L. vi. Tit. xxix. p. 192. and Gothofred.

† Exod. iv. 16. vii. 1. ‡ De Jure Laicorum.

§ See Æschylus *Pers.* 984. and the notes of Stanley. ‖ xv. 10.

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together. This miracle converted one of Julian's officers *.

When Julian sent to consult the gods concerning his Persian expedition, the poor priest of one of the oracles was so stupid, that he returned this response to the emperor, by way of poetry.

Νῦν πάντες ὡρμηθημεν Θεοὶ νίκης τρόπαια κομίσασθαι παρὰ θηρὶ πόλαμῳ τῶν δ' ἐγὼ ἡγεμονεύσω θῆρος πολεμόκλονος Ἄρης.

Universi nunc Dii parati sumus victoriæ tropæa ferre juxta *Ferum amnem*: horum vero ego dux ero, violentus ac bellipotens Mars †.

By θηρὶ πόλαμῳ, the priest, I suppose, meant the river *Tigris*. The editors of Theodoret have not explained it.

In the time of this emperor, a boy, who was the son of a Pagan priest, embraced Christianity. A woman of great piety, and a deaconness in the church, was intimate with the boy's mother, and had often exhorted the child to imitate the Christians, and to be religious. The mother died, and the child continued to visit the woman, and being desirous to profess Christianity, asked her what method he should take. She advised him to elope from his father, and to hide himself in some other town.—So said and so done. She took him and carried him to Meletius, who kept him in an upper room. The father, searching about for him, saw him peeping out of the window, and went directly up, and seized and carried him home. First he whipped him, then he burned him with an iron, and then locked him up in a chamber. The boy, left to himself, brake his father's idols to pieces; and then reflecting upon the danger he was in, he prayed most

* Tillemont, H. E. viii. 338. † Theodoret. iii. 21.

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most earnestly to Jesus Christ to help him. Instantly the door flew open, and he escaped, and went directly to the woman. She took him again to Meletius, and he gave him to Cyril of Jerusalem, who carried him to Palæstine, where he dwelt safely; and after the death of Julian, he made himself known to his father, and converted him to Christianity. He told me this story with his own mouth, says Theodoret *, when he was an old man.

Mark of Arethusa suffered under Julian. See Remarks on Eccl. Hist. ii. 141, concerning this Martyr or Confessor; for it is not agreed whether he died of his torments or no. The ecclesiastical writers, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Gregory Nazianzen know only one Mark of Arethusa; but Valesius conjectures that there were two, in his notes on Sozomen †. His proofs are not conclusive. There might indeed be more bishops than one in those times, who had the name of Mark; but we find only one Mark of Arethusa.

A. D. 362. *Lucifer Calaritanus* was a furious zealot, of whose works Du Pin gives us this character, that they are void of art, eloquence, reason, decency and moderation, and delivered in a mean and barbarous style. This man was the father of a schismatical party; for in those days, as well as in these, every *booby* could make a *sect*.

A. D. 363. Jovian was advanced to the empire. He made a law, says Themistius, that every one should be at liberty to serve God after his own way; for which

* iii. 14. † v. 10.

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which this Pagan Orator highly commends him. The law is not extant, and perhaps Themistius was in some measure mistaken, and the emperor had only declared that he would force no man to act against his own conscience. See Fabricius *, and Tillemont †. Bleterie ‡ hath made some good remarks on the occasion. I wish his countrymen may profit by them, and learn at last to hate persecution.

Jovian was persuaded, it is to be supposed, by the ecclesiastics, to publish a decree ‖ that whosoever courted a nun, and enticed her to marriage, should be put to death. This law was judged too severe, and was mitigated in following times.

Athanasius extolled the piety of Jovian, and by way of recompence promised him a long and happy reign.—Τὴν βασιλείαν μετ' εἰρήνης πολλαῖς ἐτῶν περιόδοις ἐπιτελέσεις. *Imperium multis annorum curriculis pacate gubernaturus es* §.

But the good bishop's μαντικὴ failed him sadly; and the emperor reigned only one year, and died in the flower of his age.

Posterior autem pars hujus periodi in vulgatis Athanasii editionibus desideratur: eamque Baronius adjectam existimat ab Ariano quopiam, qui Athanasium irridere vellet tanquam falsum vatem. Neque enim imperium Joviani diu stetit. Mihi tamen nihil hic adulterinum ac suppositititium videtur: nec vituperandus idcirco est Athanasius, si Jovianus non tot annos in principatu vixit, quot Athanasius eum vivere optaverat ¶.

This

* Bilb. Gr. viii. 56.
† Hist. des Emp. iv. 505.
‡ Hist. de Jovien.
‖ Chron. Cod. Theod. p. lxviii.
§ Apud *Theodoret.* iv. 3.
¶ Valesius.

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This prophetic sentence, says Baronius, was foisted in by the wicked Arians, to ridicule Athanasius. An unprejudiced critic would rather conclude that it was left out of some copies by the Athanasians, lest it should give occasion to the Arians to deride Athanasius as a false prophet. The passage is genuine, and the favourable interpretation of Valesius is preferable to the foolish conjecture of the cardinal; and we may consider the words of Athanasius as words of course, as compliments and pious ejaculations; though certainly it had been more prudent in him to have dressed up his civilities rather in the form of a wish than of a promise.

Jovian died suddenly; and Baronius, as being one of the privy council of heaven, declares, that this emperor was taken out of the world by a divine judgment, because he had made a decent funeral for his predecessor Julian. So then Jovian's orthodoxy, and the kindness which he shewed to the Consubstantialists and to Athanasius, could not atone for the horrid crime of shewing some civility to Julian's bones.

Such churchmen are much fitter to draw up an *Index Expurgatorius*, or to preside at an *Inquisition*, than to write *Ecclesiastical History* *.

A. D. 363. A sect arose of men called *Messalians*, who, if we may trust to ecclesiastical writers, were lazy vagabonds, and frantic enthusiasts. They began to appear in a warm climate, in Mesopotamia, and thence repaired to Antioch. The bishops cleared their dioceses of this vermin, by burning the monasteries into which they had gotten access, and by sending them all into banishment. An expeditious way certainly,

* See Basnage iii. 1.

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certainly, but not the most Christian way of illuminating these heretics *.

The father of this sect was one *Peter*, called *Lycopetrus*, or *Peter the Wolf*; because when he was to be stoned to death for his blasphemies, he promised his followers that on the third day he would rise again. But at the time appointed, the devil, in the shape of a wolf, was seen to come out from under the stones. Thus saith *Euthymius Zigabenus*, a monk of the twelfth century.

A. D. 364. *Valentinian* I. was made emperor; and shared the empire with his brother Valens.

He was a confessor, but in the military way; for once, in the presence of Julian, he buffetted a Pagan priest, who had thrown holy water upon him; and on account of this offence, he was cashiered by Julian, and sent from the army into banishment.

He declared himself an enemy to all persecution, and a tolerator of all religious sects. Ammianus says;

Inclaruit hoc moderamine principatûs, quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit; nec quenquam inquietavit, neque ut hoc coleretur imperavit, aut illud; nec interdictis minacibus subjectorum cervicem ad id quod ipse coluit, inclinabat, sed intemeratas reliquit has partes, ut reperit.

A. D. 367. The same writer records a prodigy, which perplexed the learned in divination. An ass clambered up into the judgment-seat, and there brayed long and loud.

Hoc

* Theodoret, iv. 11. Basnage, iii. 91. Tillemont, viii. 527.

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Hoc tempore, nova portenti species per Annonariam apparuit Tusciam : idque quorsum evaderet prodigialium rerum periti penitus ignorarunt. In oppido enim Pistoriensi, prope horam diei tertiam, spectantibus multis, asinus tribunali adscenso, audiebatur destinatius rugiens *.

The most obvious interpretation of this was, that *asses* would be made *judges* and *magistrates*. But perhaps the soothsayers thought that such common events did not deserve to be foretold by portents and prodigies, and therefore sought in vain for some hidden meaning.

A. D. 369. The council of Gangra made some good canons. These fathers condemn those who censure matrimony, and say that wives and husbands cohabiting together cannot be saved: those who separate themselves from a presbyter who hath been married, and will not receive the communion from his hands: those who embrace a state of celibacy and continence, not for the sake of piety, but through an abhorrence of marriage, and who insult and revile married persons: those women who for the same cause forsake their husbands: those parents who leave their children under pretence of leading a solitary life, and neglect to feed and instruct them: children who under the same pretence forsake their parents: slaves who run away from their masters for the like reasons: those who require abstinence from flesh, *&c.*

These canons were not made for nothing. Superstition and monkery were grown so troublesome and audacious, that the council found it absolutely necessary to endeavour to curb this spirit †.

A. D.

* xxvii. 3. † See Fleury, iv. 334.

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A. D. 372. Some Pagan philosophers, desirous to know who should succeed Valens, had recourse to magic arts, and found out that his name should be ΘΕΟΔ— This being discovered by Valens, he put several to death, who had been concerned in the affair. He had for his successor *Theodosius*, whose elevation to the empire was at that time beyond the reach of human foresight or conjecture. This story, with abundance of circumstances confirming it, is related by contemporaries, by Pagans and Christians, by Ammianus Marcellus, Zosimus, Socrates, Sozomen, and others; and seems, whether true or false, to be the most attested instance of Pagan and magical divination that is extant in history.

A. D. 375. Valentinian died suddenly in a transport of rage.

"It is a melancholy thing to consider a Christian prince dying in such a state of mind, after having signalized his government by severities exercised on unlawful occasions, which seem to deserve no better name than cruelties. St Ambrose however represents him as *interceding* with God for Valentinian II. his son *."

Ambrose had done much better, if he had said nothing about this *intercession;* which reminds me of a story full as good:

"The news of Oliver Cromwell's death being brought to those who were met together to pray for him, Mr Sterry stood up, and desired them not to be troubled. For, said he, this is good news; because if he was of great use to the people of God, when he

* Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 74.

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was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven, to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us upon all occasions *."

There is a constitution of Valentinian, in which he declares himself a friend to toleration:

Neque aliquam concessam a Majoribus Religionem genus esse arbitror criminis. Testes sunt leges a me in exordio imperii mei datæ, in quibus unicuique quod animo imbuisset colendi libera facultas tributa est. Nec Haruspicinam reprehendimus, sed nocenter exerceri vetamus.

If the emperor did not entirely persevere in this honest resolution to the end of his days, it is probably to be ascribed to the importunate solicitations of ecclesiastics, who being maintained by certain opinions, and determined to establish their own sentiments, could not suffer men of a different religion to be treated with common humanity, and teized the emperors so much about it, that at length there was a kind of necessity to persecute Pagans, Heretics, and Schismatics, for the sake of repose; and to dishonour the Christian religion, that they might satisfy those saints who pretended to be its only supporters. The same evil hath been seen and felt in our days; and they who by the essential duty of their function should dissuade the civil magistrate from persecuting, if he were inclined to it, are the first movers of all vexations and cruelties committed under the pretence of religion †."

Let us now hear Tillemont.

"Baronius blames that kind of indifference which Valentinian seemed to entertain for the Christian and Catholic

* Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ii. 611.

† Le Clerc, *Bibl. Choix.* xi. 256.

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Catholic faith, and pretends that it was the cause of the calamities of his family, and of the untimely and violent death of Gratian and Valentinian, his children. We shall not take upon us to judge of this conduct of Valentinian, or to examine whether it be expedient that princes should meddle little or much with the concerns of the church. It is certain on the one hand that the interests of religion should be dearer to them than even those of the state. They ought to serve God, as princes, by doing what princes alone can perform, and by using their utmost endeavour that he be served by all their subjects as he ought to be. Yet when we compare the advantages which the church received from such emperors as Constantine and Theodosius, with the dreadful evils which it suffered from Constantius, Valens, and even Theodosius junior, and several others, there is room to doubt whether it would be more to its advantage to have at all times princes not disposed to meddle with matters of religion, and only attentive to the execution of the laws relating to justice and equity. Saint Louis perhaps was happy enough to hit upon the just mean, to exert a zeal and diligence in maintaining the authority of the church and the rules of piety, and to *leave to the bishops* the decision of all dubious and contested points.

Notwithstanding, since it is not to be expected that the moderation of good princes will ever stop the malignity of those rulers who through error or bad counsels will be enemies to the truth, I know not whether the consideration of the evils which these may cause by abusing their power, should restrain the former from exerting their authority in favour of righteousness, if they take care to be well instructed, which is

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often not easy to be done, and if they oppose evil only by just and legal methods, without ever forgetting the humanity that is due even towards the wicked.

But what rule soever ought to be observed in so difficult a point, it must be owned that, whether by real prudence or by false policy, Valentinian did not always exert all the zeal which might have been expected from a confessor. Certain it is that he committed a great fault, and as prejudicial to his own honour and conscience as to the church, when instead of expelling Auxentius an Arian and an usurper of the see of Milan, he not only tolerated him, but joined himself to his communion, and disturbed the church by rigorous edicts, to oblige others to do the same; and when St Hilary opposed this scandal with his usual magnanimity, he commanded him to quit Milan.

It should also seem that, having such absolute authority as history represents him to have had over his brother Valens, he ought to have restrained him from waging open and cruel war with the Catholic church. —He did also great hurt to the church by marrying Justina, who was an Arian. But this was excuseable, since as long as he lived Justina concealed her heresy."

Thus * Tillemont; and he is placid and moderate upon the subject, compared to Baronius, who breathes nothing but fire and brimstone, and who accounted kings and emperors to be mere catchpoles and constables, bound to execute with implicit faith and blind submission all the commands of insolent ecclesiastics.

It is indeed strange that Valentinian did not exert himself in requiring his brother Valens to shew more humanity to the Consubstantialists: in this respect, I see

* Hist. des Emp. v. 10.

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I see not how he can possibly be justified. But as to his own notions of toleration, he cannot be too much commended; and indeed he hath this honour to himself, and no Christian emperor of those times to share it with him.

He made a * law that Christians should not be compelled to watch and guard the Pagan temples; and a very reasonable law it was. The office was only fit for Pagans.

He † protected the Jews, and would not suffer their synagogues to be profaned, plundered, or demolished; which must have grieved the righteous souls of the Baroniuses and the Bellarmins of those days.

He was also a singular friend and patron of letters and of learned men. *Literarum studiis & sectatoribus Romæ enixe consuluit* ‡.

Alas! that such princes should not arise, once at least in a century, for the encouragement of literature!

He found it necessary to make a law ‖ against pious donations to the clergy and to the monks, who preyed upon stupid bigots, and devoured widows' houses.

Baronius is highly offended at this decree: yet even Jerom and Ambrose thought fit to approve it; and Gothofred, on the Theodosian Code, defends it against the censures of Baronius. Fleury says fairly of it, that it was, *A law shameful to the clergy, but yet necessary.*

Baronius, Basnage, and Fleury imagine that Damasus himself, though bishop of Rome, advised the

 emperor

* Cod. Theod. L. xvi. Tit. i. p. 3.
† Cod. Theod. L. vii. Tit. viii. p. 344. & Gothofred.
‡ Gothofred, *Chron. Cod. Theod.* p. 88.
‖ Cod. Theod. T. vi. p. 48. Basnage iii. 28.

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emperor to make this law. If so, I will add a conjecture to theirs. Perhaps Damasus gave this advice, that the inferior clergy of his diocese might not grow too wealthy and independent, and less submissive to his will and pleasure, and that none might be great and rich besides himself and his successors. The bishoprick of Rome, even at that time, was a noble post, as Damasus well knew, who possessed it, and who had *fought* for it, but not *a good fight*. Upon which occasion Ammianus Marcellinus hath made some proper remarks:

Damasus & Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam Episcopatûs sedem ardentes, scissis studiis asperrime conflictabantur, adusque mortis vulnerumque discrimina adjumentis utriusque progressis: quæ nec corrigere sufficiens Juventius, nec mollire, coactus vi magna, secessit in suburbanum. Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quæ ei favebat instante.—Constatque in Basilica Sicinini, ubi ritûs Christiani est Conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem reperta cadavera peremtorum; efferatamque diu plebem ægre postea delenitam. Neque ego abnuo, ostentationem rerum considerans Urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos ob impetrandum quod appetunt omni contentione laterum jurgari debere: cum id adepti, futuri sint ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspecte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas. Qui esse poterant Beati *revera, si magnitudine Urbis despecta, quam vitiis opponunt, ad imitationem Antistitum quorumdam provincialium viverent; quos tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, & supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo*

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petuo Numini verisque ejus cultoribus ut puros commendant & verecundos *.

Theodoret pays high compliments † to the memory of Damasus. Δάμασος παμπόλλοις ἀρεταῖς κοσμούμενος εἴδεσιν.—Ἀξιεπαινέτῳ βίῳ κοσμούμενος, καὶ πάντα λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀποστολικῶν δογμάτων αἱρούμενος.—Δάμασος ὁ πανεύφημος.—Ὁ θαυμάσιος Δάμασος.

Vir omni genere virtutis ornatus.—Sanctitate vitæ conspicuus, & qui pro Apostolica doctrina nihil non dicere atque agere paratus esset.—Laudatissimus Damasus.—Admirandus Damasus.

He reckons Damasus and Ambrose amongst the most strenuous defenders of the faith, and confuters of heretics.

Now let us see some of the exploits of our Θαυμάσιος.

In the year 366, Damasus and Ursinus fought for the bishoprick of Rome. The party of Damasus was victorious, and many were slain in the contest.

He was made bishop, when he was sixty years old; a time of life in which a man who had a grain of philosophy, not to say of Christianity, would be extremely indifferent about preferments and promotions, and not think of purchasing them in such a manner.

Saint Basil ‡ gives Saint Damasus a very unfavourable character, and taxes him with pride and insolence, and contempt of other ecclesiastics, as inferior to himself in station and dignity. He says that there was no gaining his favour but by sordid submissions and flatteries beneath a man of honour. He cannot refrain from venting his chagrin upon this occasion,

* xxvii. 3. † ii. 22. iv. 30. v. 2. 9. 23.
‡ Epist. 150. and *Du Pin.*

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and from saying that his brother Gregory was of all persons the most unfit to be sent a deputy to Rome, because he had too little of the courtier, and was too frank, and blunt, and simple to enter into a conference with a proud Pope, whose exaltation had turned his head, and who could not bear plain dealing and honest freedom.

It is diverting enough to see how Tillemont mumbles and softens all this *.

Damasus with a view to extend his jurisdiction in the east, appointed the bishop of Thessalonica to be vicar of the holy see, and the pope's deputy †. *We cannot see*, says Tillemont, *what right he had to do this.* Can you not see it? He had the same right that an highwayman hath to take a purse.

He was however, to do the man justice, a most active and vigilant prelate, the terror and the scourge of all heretics and schismatics, whom he harassed, excommunicated, and drove into banishment; and when they assembled together, he used to send his ecclesiastics, with constables and other ruffians, to beat them and dislodge them. So say his adversaries, and what they say was true in all probability.

Yet he wrote in defence of Symmachus, a man of quality, and of considerable abilities, a steady and bigotted Pagan, who was falsely accused of having oppressed some of the Christians.

He had the wit to pay much honour and respect to Jerom, and to consult him as his master and teacher; and Jerom, who was a warm friend as well as a warm foe, repaid these favours with compliments and commendations.

In

* ix. 225. † xii. 402.

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In a letter to Jerom, he declares that he could not endure to read the works of Lactantius, because they were too prolix, and not godly enough. Such was his taste!

He composed some pastoral letters, and books of devotion, and pious poems. The Latin church hath canonized him; and therefore Tillemont calls him *Saint Damasus:* but Du Pin calls him *Pope Damasus*, judging, I suppose, that title to be good enough for him *.

A stone †, it is said, was found in Catalonia, with this inscription, which, I think, hath the air of a modern forgery:

HIC NATVS DAMASVS PONTIFEX ROMANVS DISCIPVLVS ET MONACHVS S. HIERONYMI PRESBYTERI, QVI OBIIT ERA CAESARIS CCCCV.

Prætextatus, a man of quality, and a Pagan, who died consul elect, used to say to Damasus, Make me bishop of Rome, and I will be a Christian as soon as you please. *Homo sacrilegus*, says Jerom, *& idolorum cultor solebat ludens Beato Papæ Damaso dicere,—Facite me Romanæ Urbis Episcopum, & protinus ero Christianus.*

Ammianus Marcellinus ‡ gives this Prætextatus a very good character, and represents him as an excellent magistrate.

The writer of the Life of Damasus says that he wrought many miracles; but Faustinus and Marcellinus have recorded his exploits of another kind:

"Marcellinus

* Concerning Damasus, see Socrates iv. 29. Marcellinus xxvii. Tillemont ix. Le Clerc *Bibl. A. & M.* xxviii. 246. Basnage iii. 13, 19, 20.

† Wætchler, *de Cancellariis Veterum.* ‡ xxvii. 9.

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" Marcellinus and Faustinus, two presbyters of the church of Rome, presented to the emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, a complaint against Damasus, which is published in the *Opera Sirmundi*. These presbyters inform the emperors that under Constantius the orthodox were persecuted, and Athanasius condemned; that Liberius, bishop of Rome, together with three other prelates, refusing to consent to his condemnation, were sent into banishment; that Liberius setting out to the place whither he was ordered to go, Damasus, his deacon, made as though he would accompany him, but left him, as they were upon the way, and went back to Rome; that on the same day on which Liberius departed, all the clergy of Rome, namely, the presbyters, Felix the archdeacon, and Damasus the deacon, and all who had any function in the church being assembled, in the presence of the Roman people, sware that they would not chuse another bishop whilst Liberius was living; that nevertheless some of the clergy, against their promise and their oath, and against all decency, chose Felix the archdeacon, who was ordained in the room of Liberius, to the great dissatisfaction of all the people; that after three years, Liberius being recalled, the people received him with much joy, and drove Felix out of the city. After these things, say they, Liberius died, having forgiven those ecclesiastics who had rebelled against him. Then those presbyters and deacons, and the brethren who had been faithful to Liberius during his exile, proceeded to an election in the Julian church, and chose Ursinus, who was consecrated by Paul, bishop of Tibur. Upon this, Damasus, who had always been making interest for the bishoprick, hired and drew together the charioteers and the

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the rude rabble, and with them forced his way into the church, and committed great disorders for three days together, in which many of the faithful were massacred. Seven days after this, with the perjured crew that followed him, and with a band of gladiators, to whom he had given large sums of money, he seized the Lateran church, and was there ordained. Then having bribed two magistrates of the city, he caused Ursinus, a venerable man, who had been first made bishop, to be sent into banishment, with the deacons Amantius and Lupus. The Roman people assembled together, and would have hindered Damasus from taking possession of the pontificate; but he cleared his way through them by blows and bastinadoes, and some died of the wounds which they had received. He also attempted to drive out of the city seven presbyters, who were put into prison by the magistrates; but the faithful people rescued them, and carried them into the church of Liberius. Then Damasus, with the ecclesiastics of his faction, joined to gladiators, charioteers, and rustics, armed with hatchets, swords, and clubs, besieged the church, and began a furious battle, setting fire to the doors, and bursting them open, whilst others of his partizans had clambered up, and were pelting their adversaries with tiles from the top of the edifice. Thus the Damasians forced their way in, and slew an hundred and sixty persons, men and women, and wounded several who died afterwards: but of the party of Damasus not one was slain. The people cried out for justice, and for the expulsion of Damasus; but the prelate had taken his measures so well that nothing was done against him; and it appears from the relation of which we are giving an abstract, that the ladies, who in great

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great cities like Rome are no inconsiderable party, favoured the conqueror, who was admirably skilled in the arts of flattering and cajoling them; for which reason he had the honour to be called *Matronarum Auriscalpius*, the ear-picker of the ladies.—The strangest of the story is, that notwithstanding all these things, Damasus was a great saint, and miracles were wrought in his favour after his death. See Baronius, or his abbreviator, Spondanus, on the year 386. Either he was much altered for the better, after he had gained the see of Rome, sword in hand, or at least, after he had gained it by the violence of his partizans, or these miracles were mere fables. A conqueror obtaining the episcopal throne by breaking open churches, and shedding blood, presents not to our imagination the idea of an holy prelate. If faults had been committed on both sides, which is usually the case in contests of this kind, neither Damasus nor Ursinus ought to have been employed in the service of the church, and least of all in the service of the church of Rome. They should have retired both of them to some solitary place, to shew that they had never desired to obtain a dignity which had occasioned so scandalous a battle, and which must have given the Pagans a very bad opinion of the Roman clergy, as it appears from the remarks of Marcellinus the historian, who yet was a man of candour and moderation *."

Damasus was the first pope who introduced the laudable custom of celebrating with festivity and solemnity his birth-day, on which so great a blessing was conferred upon the Christian church. His successors followed his example †.

In

* Le Clerc, Bibl. *A. & M.* xxviii. 246, Basnage iii. 518.

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In the reign of Valentinian lived Ephraim Syrus. See in Tillemont an account of his imprisonment and deliverance, and of all the strange things that befel him and his fellow sufferers. The story is pretty enough, and more amusing than many a modern romance. Gregory Nyssen hath written an injudicious and fanatical account of this Ephraim, who seems to have been a pious humble man, an honest monk, by no means free from enthusiasm, though not so enthusiastic as many of his comrades, the monks of Mesopotamia, whose zeal was downright frenzy.

Ephraim, hearing as Gregory tells us, that Apollinaris, a man of great reputation for his learning and abilities, but reckoned amongst the heterodox, had committed his writings to the care of a certain woman, made her believe that he was a friend and disciple of Apollinaris, and borrowed the books, promising to return them speedily. As soon as he had them in his possession, he glewed all the leaves together, and returned the volumes to the woman, and she to Apollinaris, who when he wanted to make use of them, found all his labours destroyed, and took it much to heart.

Tillemont judges fairly, and calls this a mean and scandalous trick. He supposes that either Gregory Nyssen was not the author of the book in which this story is related; or that if he was, he had been imposed upon by hearsays, and false reports. The latter supposition is probable enough, if we consider the credulity of Gregory.

The best thing recorded of Ephraim is, that he was very charitable, and by his credit and interest raised great sums to relieve the poor in times of distress.

Concerning

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Concerning the works of Ephraim; some genuine, some ill-translated, corrupted, and interpolated, see Rivetus, Tillemont *, Lardner †, and Cave ‡.

Amphilochius, A. D. 375. was made bishop of Iconium, and, as Metaphrastes assures us, was ordained by angels, who on this occasion usurped the episcopal office ||.

Tillemont, I mention it to his honour §, rejects this story, and often speaks of Metaphrastes with due contempt. But it is worthy of observation that Combefix, no inconsiderable man in the church of Rome, recommends this wretched tale to the belief of all good souls, with a *Certissimum est, et omnino credendum.*

A. D. 371. Gregory of Nyssa was a married man, and was made a bishop. He celebrates the wonders of Gregory Thaumaturgus, and relates many of his miracles, *some of which are of a very extraordinary kind.* Thus saith Du Pin, which was rather more than was safe for him to say amongst powerful bigots, and powerful hypocrites.

Gregory of Nyssa went to Jerusalem, to try whether he could pacify the quarrels there amongst the Christians. He tells us, that instead of finding the virtues which might have been expected from the inhabitants of the Holy Land, he found the place to be a sink of iniquity and debauchery, the seat of envy, malice, adultery, robbery, murder, idolatry, poisoning, and bloodshed, where men assassinated others for a trifling

* viii. 264. 294. † ix. 177. ‡ i. 235.
|| Basnage, iii. 145. § ix. 617.

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a trifling reward, so that in no place were murders so frequently and so easily committed. Such were the Christians of Jerusalem in the fourth century, a century so abundant in saints and in miracles! Thus he learned from experience to have no favourable opinion of pilgrimages. I was convinced, says he, that there was much less devotion and goodness to be found in the Holy Land, than in Capadocia. He therefore dissuaded some religious persons from undertaking that voyage.

Jerom was of the same mind in this point, and said much the same things to Paulinus, and commended the monk Hilarion, who being born, and bred up, and settled in Palæstine, had never spent more than one single day in Jerusalem; and did that, only lest he should be thought to despise the place.

This declaration of Gregory, says Cave *, hath been foolishly censured by some popish writers. Erasmus † wrote an excellent dialogue on the subject of pilgrimages ‡.

The Arians at that time were numerous at Constantinople, and the inhabitants loquacious, and addicted to disputing. This city, says Gregory ||, is full of mechanics and slaves, who are all of them doctors of divinity, and preach in the shops and in the streets. If you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you wherein the Son differs from the Father; if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to the Father; if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing.

But

* i. 245. † T. i. 639. ‡ See Tillemont, ix. 435.
|| De Abrah. et Greg. Nazianz. *Orat.* 33.

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But doubtless the Consubstantialists were not silent on these occasions, being as unwearied praters, and as troublesome wranglers as their adversaries.

Gregory was of the same opinion with Origen concerning future punishments, that they were temporary, and would terminate in the amendment of the sufferers.

A. D. 374. Ambrose was made bishop of Milan.

Baronius relates, as an *ancient tradition*, that Ambrose coming to Rome, and lodging at an inn, his host boasted to him how prosperous he had always been, and talked in a vain and arrogant manner, without returning thanks to God. The saint collecting from the pride and insolence of the man that God's judgments would speedily overtake him, hastened from the house with his companions; and as soon as he was fairly out of it, the earth opened and swallowed it up, with all its inhabitants, and a lake was formed in the place *.

The very story of old *Baucis* and *Philemon*:

—flexere oculos, et mœrsa palude
Cætera prospiciunt.

This is one proof, to which forty more might be added, that the Christians used to collect out of Ovid, Livy, and other Pagan poets and historians, the miracles and portents which are to be found there, and accommodate them to their own monks and saints.

Ambrose wrote to Theodosius, to congratulate him upon his victory over Eugenius, and to intreat him to forgive those who had sided with Eugenius; which was the act of a good and pious prelate. But his zeal

* Tillemont, x. 151.

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zeal ran away with him, when he justified the burning of a Jewish synagogue by the riotous Christians.

Ambrose, says Barbeyrac *, had such an impetuous imagination, that every thing served him for an argument, and was so excessively credulous, as to adopt even the stupid Legend of St Thecla, &c.

I know not whether this be a decisive proof of his credulity; for perhaps he did not believe one word of it, but thought it good for the edification of the lower people.

Jerom had a mean opinion of the learning and abilities of Ambrose.

See Ambrose †, Du Pin ‡, Tillemont ||, Basnage §, and Barbeyrac **, who makes some proper remarks on the reliques and the miracles of the fourth century.

A. D. 375. Valens, who was guilty of many acts of cruelty, oppressed also those who would not comply with the Arian system. Themistius, the orator, a professed Pagan, addressed a discourse to him in favour of toleration, and earnestly exhorted him not to persecute the Consubstantialists.

The Christian princes of those days, whilst they harassed their Christian subjects for speculative points of religion, shewed kindness to many learned Pagans, as to Libanius, Themistius, Symmachus, Claudian, &c. ††

Whilst Valens persecuted the Consubstantialists, particularly the monks and the clergy, they defended themselves by spiritual weapons, and wrought innumerable miracles, sufficient, one would think, to have

* P. 208. † Epist. xxii. ‡ ii. 283. || x.
§ iii. 104. 156. ** P. 259. †† See Basnage, iii. 51.

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softened the heart of this Pharaoh and of all his servants.

Amongst the monks who were exposed to the rage of the Arians, were Macarius of Egypt, and Macarius of Alexandria. Read their lives in Tillemont*, and admire the consummate effrontery of those who forged the miracles ascribed to them, and the amazing credulity of this honest man, who believes them all.

Jerom † testifies, that the officers of Valens slew many monks of Nitria, and that this prince made a law to compel them to serve in the army, *ut Monachi militárent*‡.

Valens endeavoured both by good words and by menaces to bring over Basil of Cæsarea, or to make him admit the Arians to his communion: but Basil, who seems to have been a man of undaunted resolution, and of an high spirit, was inflexible; so that the emperor at last admired his courage and constancy, and would not suffer him to be ill used.

As Basil and Valens were discoursing together upon this subject, one Demosthenes, the emperor's head cook, and a sort of a favourite, interposed, and censured Basil, and blundered in his expressions; upon which the bishop smiled, and said, What! Doth Demosthenes make barbarisms? the man flew into a passion, and threatened revenge. Go, said Basil, and toss up your ragouts: you are fit for nothing else.

Whilst the bishop was undergoing this trial, the emperor's child fell sick, and the empress had frightful

* viii. † Chron. A. D. 376.

‡ L'Enfant, *Hist. du Conc. de Basle*, ii. 361.

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ful dreams and visions, informing her that this was a judgment upon them for persecuting Basil.

The story seems to have been taken from *Matt.* xxvii. 19. *His wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man,* &c.

The emperor then desired Basil to pray for the child; and the bishop promised him that his child should recover, if he himself would forsake Arianism. But the emperor would not, and the child died.

The emperor resolved to banish him; but when he attempted to sign the order, his pens brake one after another, and he trembled so that he could not write his name.

During this contest, Basil healed a man of quality who was sick.

Valens then went to church, to hear Basil preach, and made handsome presents to the church, and being in a good humour, granted the bishop several favours.

From the history of the contest between Valens and Basil, as it is thus delivered to us by Basil's friends and admirers, one might conjecture that the emperor was not altogether so violent and cruel towards the Consubstantialists as these have represented him.

His behaviour also to the Edessenes shews that he was not altogether a brute at all times; for finding the inhabitants of Edessa resolved rather to die than to admit Arianism, he either through compassion, or through prudence, judged it adviseable to let them alone.

Socrates bestows two chapters on the Egyptian monks who were persecuted by Valens, and banished for their orthodoxy, and on the numerous miracles

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which they wrought in the remote and barbarous places to which they were sent.

These miracles, as Socrates observes, prove the truth of the doctrines for which they suffered. But the difficulty is to prove the truth of the miracles to the satisfaction of a reasonable inquirer.

" Some Greek writers have complained of the vanity and arrogance of Jerom. But proud men are apt to complain of one another, and Jerom could as little bear the pride of the Greeks. In his *Chronicon*, A. 392. we find these words; *Basilius Cæsariensis, Episcopus Cappadociæ, clarus habetur.*

But in some old manuscripts, these words are added, which are not in Scaliger's edition;—*qui multa continentiæ et ingenii bona uno superbiæ malo perdidit.* It is to be supposed that the monks, who were librarians, suppressed some passages in the ancients which they did not like *."

These additional words are quite in Jerom's style and manner, and too elegant for any interpolator of after-times: and therefore it is probable that they are genuine.

And indeed, Basil's own friend, Gregory Nazianzen †, thought him proud, and haughty, and overbearing, as it appears from the letters of Gregory.

A. D. 378. Christianity had gained admittance in the Gothic nations before the time of Valens. In his reign, a part of the Goths had been defeated by the Hunns, and sent an embassy to the emperor, desiring that he would give them leave to cross the Danube, and to settle in Thrace, offering to serve in the Roman

* Bibl. Univ. ii. 414. † Tillemont, T. ix. 278.

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Roman armies. The chief person of this embassy was the celebrated Gothic bishop, Ulfila, who had great authority amongst them, having laboured incessantly to civilize them, and to instruct them in Christianity, and having on that account suffered persecution from those Goths who were Pagans. He taught his converted Goths the use of letters, and made them a Gothic alphabet formed upon the model of the Latin and Greek characters. He also translated the Scriptures into their language; but it is said, that he omitted the books of kings, lest the wars, of which so much is there recorded, should increase their inclination to fighting, which was already too prevalent.

Coming as embassador to Constantinople, he had conferences with the Arian bishops: and whether he hoped to succeed in his negotiations through their credit with Valens, or whether he was of himself inclined to the same opinion with them, or whether he was influenced by their representations and arguments, he sided in some measure with them, and was the occasion that the Goths embraced Arianism, or rather Semiarianism, and spread it afterwards quite through the west. Ulfila is said to have told the Goths that those violent disputes about the doctrine of the Trinity arose from the mere pride and ambition of ecclesiastics, and were altercations of no importance, and that the fundamentals of Christianity were not concerned in them. Accordingly the Goths used to affirm that the Father was *greater* than the Son, but yet would never say that the Son was a *creature*, though they held communion with those who said so.

About the same time, or a little sooner, the Pagan Goths persecuted their Christian countrymen, and

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put many of them to death, who yet are supposed by Socrates to have been Arians. But Basnage and others are mighty unwilling to allow of *Arian martyrs*, and suppose that Socrates was mistaken, and that these martyrs were good Catholics.

As to Arius, says Socrates *, he being embarrassed in controversy, and endeavouring to confute Sabellianism, ran, as it often happens, into the other extreme, and fell into an opposite heresy. But these poor Goths, plain, illiterate, and simple-minded men, received Christianity, and died for it, without entering into such deep speculations, and as to those points, were rather *adox* than *heterodox*.

What Socrates and Theodoret have said on this occasion, is mild and moderate, compared with the language of Tillemont †, who seems quite beside himself, and says, that Ulfila, after having done and suffered great things in propagating the Gospel amongst the Pagan Goths, was puffed up with diabolical pride, and that, bribed by the Arians, and seduced by worldly and wicked motives, he fell like Lucifer, and drew after him to hell and eternal damnation an innumerable multitude of Goths, and of other northern nations.

‡ *Gudila* [i. e. *Ulfila*] *Episcopus Gothos legem docuit Christianam, et Scripturas Novi et Veteris Testamenti linguam transtulit in eandem. Speciales literas, quas eis cum Lege Gudila tradiderat, habuerunt, quæ in antiquis Hispaniarum et Galliarum libris adhuc hodie superextant, specialiter quæ dicitur Toletana.*

* iv. 33. † vi. 604.

‡ Rodericus Toletanus. See Grotius, *Hist. Goth. Elog.* p. 141. & Cave, i. 229.

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A. D. 378. Gratian, who came to the empire when he was a boy, made a law granting a toleration to all Christian sects except three, namely, the Eunomians, the Photinians, and the Manichæans, who were not permitted to have any churches or religious assemblies. Afterwards, being *better* instructed by his teachers, he made laws against all heretics and schismatics; for which Basnage commends him, and says, *Mutatâ in* melius *sententiâ, Hæreticis omnibus silentium imponit**.

A. D. 379. † The Priscillianists spread themselves through Spain and Portugal, and were persecuted with great violence and cruelty.

"Their tenets, says Tillemont, were an horrible confusion of all sorts of impieties, which flowed into this sect, as into a jakes. There was nothing so abominable in the most profane opinions which it did not adopt. It was a monstrous compound of the grossest and filthiest errors, collecting into itself all the stinking ordure dispersed throughout other heresies. Not content with these impieties, it added to them the follies of Paganism, the sacrilegious curiosities of magic, and the wild reveries of astrology. But, in particular, it adopted the doctrines of the Manichæans, Gnostics, or Basilidians."

Who would not imagine from this that Priscillian was the vilest of men, such another as Count Zinzendorf, the infamous head of the modern Moravians? But whence did Tillemont collect this detestable character of the Priscillianists? From Augustin, Jerom, Pope

* Socrates, v. 2. Tillemont, vi. 617. Basnage, iii. 65.
† Tillemont, viii. 491. Basnage, iii. 110, 181. Lardner, ix. 257.

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Pope Leo, the acts of councils, and so forth: that is, from bigots, from persecutors, from noisy declaimers, from the sworn enemies of these people, from men whose testimony is to be suspected, and who may justly be supposed to have exaggerated things, and to have given too much credit to vulgar reports.

As to their notions of the Trinity, says Tillemont, they were *Sabellians* and *Arians*. Good! One might as well have said of Tillemont, that he was a *Pelagian*, and a *Jansenist*.

Priscillian, says Sulpitius Severus, drew away many people, especially females: *Ad hoc mulieres novarum rerum cupidæ fluxa fide, et ad omnia curioso ingenio, catervatim ad eum confluebant.*

Tillemont did not let this cursory censure drop, but sets it forth thus:

"The women more especially, who by nature love novelty, whose faith is fickle and changeable, and who are curious of knowing all things, flocked after this new doctor. The women of Spain and Portugal, who, as St Jerom observes, were of the number of those whom St Paul calls silly women, laden with sins, led away with diverse lusts, ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth, suffered themselves to be seduced with new Scriptures, recommended by specious names, and received with joy fables mixed with voluptuous charms."

What pity is it that women do not write ecclesiastical history, and take their revenge upon us!

The Priscillianists seem, as far as we can guess from their adversaries, to have been in some points a sort of Manichæans, but in one respect better than the Manichæans, for they received all the canonical Scriptures

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tures of the Old and New Testament. If there were knaves and hypocrites amongst them, as in all probability there were, the orthodox prelates who pursued them to death were beyond measure worse.

The council of Cæsaraugusta condemned and excommunicated them. Then Idatius and Ithacius, two Spanish bishops, obtained from the emperor Gratian a decree that they should be banished from all places of the empire. Then the Priscillianists went to Rome, to justify themselves before Damasus; but he would not admit them even into his presence. Then they repaired to Milan, to beg the same favour of Ambrose; but he also would not give them an hearing. Then they bribed some of the magistrates, and insinuated themselves into their favour. Then Idatius and Ithacius accused them to the usurper Maximus, and managed their affairs so well, with the help of other bishops like themselves, that Priscillian and several of his followers were put to death for heresy.

"For my part, I neither approve the prosecutors, nor the prosecuted. As to Ithacius, I am persuaded that he was a man void of all principles; he was loquacious, impudent, expensive, and a slave to his belly; so senseless as to represent every holy person, who delighted in religious studies, and practised mortification and abstinence, as an associate or disciple of Priscillian. He even dared openly to accuse of heresy Martin the bishop, a man comparable to the apostles. For Martin being then at Treves, never ceased to reprimand Ithacius, and to admonish him to desist from his prosecution. He also entreated the emperor Maximus not to shed the blood of those unhappy sufferers, telling him that it was enough to subject

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subject them to episcopal censure, and to excommunicate them as heretics, and that it was a new and an unlawful attempt of the civil magistrate to take cognizance of an ecclesiastical cause. As long therefore as Martin stayed at Treves, the prosecution was suspended; and at his departure he obtained a promise from Maximus, who held him in high esteem, that no capital punishment should be inflicted upon these men. But the emperor afterwards being corrupted by two bishops, Magnus and Rufus, and at their instigation departing from his milder designs, appointed the cause to be tried before the præfect Evodius, a stern and severe judge; and then, upon the report which was returned to him, he ordered Priscillian and his associates to be put to death.—But the death of Priscillian was so far from repressing the heresy of which he had been the author, that it conduced greatly to confirm and extend it; for his followers, who before had reverenced him as a pious man, began to worship him as a martyr. The bodies of those who had suffered death were carried back to Spain, and interred with great solemnity; and to swear by the name of Priscillian was practised as a religious act, &c."

Thus says Sulpitius Severus, who proceeds to bestow a bad character upon most of the prelates of his time, and to censure their scandalous contentions and their vile practices.

"Upon the whole, I think it appears that the Priscillianists received the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. They likewise made use of apocryphal books: but what respect they had for them cannot now be clearly determined. Some ecclesiastics, who went under this denomination, are represented, from

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from an ill-judged zeal, and without sufficient reason, to have deserted their stations in the church, to betake themselves to a retired and solitary course of life. They had errors concerning the soul, and some other matters. They seem to have had a disadvantageous opinion of marriage, and thereby sometimes made unhappy breaches in families, if their adversaries do not aggravate. They had also rules about diet, not founded in reason or Scripture. Some of these people are blamed for not consuming the eucharist at church; and they were irregular in fasting, when other Christians feasted. But as we have none of their writings remaining, we do not know their whole system with certainty. By some they have been charged with obscene doctrines and lewd practices. But so far as we are able to judge upon the evidence that has been produced, they appear rather to have made high pretentions to sanctity and purity, and to have practised uncommon mortifications *."

Martin, bishop of Tours, would never consent to the death of the Priscillianists; he interceded earnestly for them; he refused for some time to communicate with Ithacius and the persecuting bishops of his party; he at last consented to it, with the utmost reluctance, by the pressing intreaties of the emperor Maximus, and with a charitable and good-natured view to save the lives of some unhappy persons, at whom Maximus was offended because they had been faithful to Gratian, their lawful sovereign: but he never would sign a testimonial that he held communion with those cut-throats. He returned home, full of affliction for having made any condescension, and

* Lardner, ix. 348. See also L'Enfant, *Hist. du Conc. de Basle* ii. 369. and Du Pin, ii. 348.

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and said to his friends, as it is reported, that for this frailty God had withdrawn from him the power of working miracles. He never more would communicate with the Ithacians, and for the last sixteen years of his life he never would meet at any council or synod, and carefully shunned those cabals. This behaviour doth honour to his memory; and whilst we reject the fabulous accounts of his miracles, we must applaud his humanity, his hatred of persecution, and, let us add, his dislike of councils.

Martin, who in point of miracles, as they say, was a perfect *Thaumaturgus*, like Gregory, seems to have failed as a prophet, when he declared that Nero and Antichrist were coming *. Martin learned this perhaps from a *Sybilline oracle*, which is cited by the writer *De Mortibus Persecutorum* †.

Tillemont endeavours to clear Martin, or to excuse him, and says;

"He was persuaded, as almost all the saints were, that the end of the world was at hand. If he had some notions concerning Antichrist which were not well-grounded, there is no man, who is not sometimes out in his conjectures relating to things which God hath not revealed to us ‡."

Very good. But why did Martin dogmatize about such things, and venture to foretell events, in which he was as much mistaken in the fourth, as Jurieu and others have been in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

"His body was at Tours, till our sins having rendered us unworthy of possessing this treasure, God gave it up into the hands of the Hugonots, who reduced

* Sulpit. Severus, *Dial.* ii. 14. † iii. p. 44. ‡ x. 340.

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duced it to ashes. Yet it is thought that some of the bones are still preserved *."

From the recantations of some Priscillianists, it should seem that they held the *Son* to be *unborn*, *innascibilis*. Possibly they rejected the doctrine of *eternal generation*, and said that the Λόγος was from all eternity underived and self-existing, and that the *Father* and the *Son* were *Duo Principia* †.

A. D. 379. Of all the fathers of the fourth century, there was not, in the opinion of Le Clerc, a more moderate and a worthier man than Gregory Nazianzen.

Gregory and his Consubstantialists were assaulted by the Arians of Constantinople ‡. Ancient women, as he says, worse than Jezebels, young nuns, common beggars, and monks, like *old goats* [Πᾶτες], issuing out of their monasteries, armed with clubs and stones, attacked him and his flock, in his church, and did much mischief ‖.

" St Jerom one day asked St Gregory to explain a difficult place in the New Testament, *de Sabbato secundo-primo* §. Gregory answered humorously, I will explain it to you by and by, in my sermon at church, where the applauses given to me by all the audience shall compel you, in spite of yourself, to understand what you understand not, or to pass for a blockhead if you are the only person there who joins not in admiring me.

" We see by this that Gregory, with all his gravity, was of a chearful temper, which also appears in his epistles; we see also how much authority he had over the people, and how little account he made of the acclamations

* x. 340. † See Basnage, iii. 181.
‡ Tillemont, vi. 616. ix. 432. ‖ Ibid.
§ Δευτεροπρώτῳ, Luc. vi. 1.

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clamations which his eloquence excited. From this passage we might also perhaps infer that he was not always satisfied with the expositions which he gave to the people. The same may be observed of St Augustin; for in his sermons he delivers some things as certain, of which, as it appears from his letters, he was far from being assured *."

Go now, and establish articles of faith, or even interpretations of Scripture, from the homilies of the fathers!

A rational pastor, accustomed to think and to judge for himself, if he be a prudent man, will not perhaps tell his congregation every thing that he believes; but if he be an honest man, he will never teach them any thing that he believes not. *Quandoquidem populus vult decipi, decipiatur*, may be a good maxim for a quack, but not for a divine.

Gregory, in his old days, is said to have passed a whole lent without speaking. A grievous penance for a Greek father!

The Christian world is much obliged to him for the censures which he so freely and plentifully bestowed upon the second general council, held at Constantinople, A. D. 381.; which Cave † calls *Venerandum Concilium Oecumenicum*. It is a wonder that Gregory hath not been stigmatized, degraded, and stripped of his saintship, for having treated those venerable prelates and fathers with so little ceremony.

His favouring the persecution of some heretics is a blot in his amiable character. But alas, few of the men called orthodox were entirely free from that blemish.

* Tillemont ix. 429. † i. 364.

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mish. He incited Nectarius to persecute the Apollinarists; which was done accordingly *.

"Amongst the causes which made Gregory desirous of declining the office of a bishop or of a presbyter, he mentions the mean and scandalous manner by which many, unworthy as they were, endeavoured to acquire those stations, and the multitude of competitors for ecclesiastical preferments. They consider this dignity, says he, not as a station wherein they ought to be a pattern of every virtue, but as a trade to get money; not as a ministry and a stewardship, of which an account must be given, but as a magistracy subject to no examination. They are become almost as numerous as those whom they govern; and I believe it will come at last to that pass, that there will be none to be governed, but all will be doctors, and Saul also will be amongst the prophets. He adds that the pulpits were filled with illiterate pastors, with mere boys, with imitators of the Scribes and Pharisees; that there was no such thing as charity among them, but only acrimony and wrath; that their religion consisted in condemning the irreligion of others, whose behaviour they watched, not to reform them, but to defame them; that they blamed or praised persons, not for their bad or good lives, but according to the party to which they belonged, admiring in one what they reviled in another; engaged in everlasting disputes; disputes resembling a battle fought in the dark, where a man cannot distinguish his friends from his foes; wrangling, shuffling, and cavilling about baubles, under the specious pretext of defending the faith; abhorred by the Pagans, and despised by all honest Christians.

This

* See Basnage iii. 94.

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"This is a faithful portrait of the manners of the ecclesiastics in the days of Gregory, as the history of those times too plainly shews." *Le Clerc*, Bibl. Univ. xviii. 56. where he hath given us the Life of Gregory.

A. D. 381. Theodosius took away from all heretics and schismatics all their churches, and made a present of them to the orthodox. The Apollinarists, on this occasion, pleaded for themselves, that they were of the orthodox party, and ought not to undergo this punishment: upon which Tillemont exclaims *, *Surely nothing equals the impudence of an heretic!* The good man was mistaken; the impudence of a bigot is usually equal to it, to say the least.

Theodosius was the first prince who established an *inquisition*, a spiritual office, which hath since been prodigiously improved by the sons of Dominic.

"He made a law that the Pagans should not offer sacrifices.—He forbad the assemblies of the Manichæans, and took from them the power of making a testament. He ordered that the heretics called *Encratitæ*, *Saccophori*, and *Hydroparastatæ*, should be punished *summo supplicio, & inexpiabili pœna.* And for the detection of such persons, he appointed *inquisitors*, who were thus instituted for the first time. He adds; *Nemo tales occultos cogat latentesque conventus. Agris vetitum sit, prohibitum mœnibus, sede publica privataque damnatum. Ac summa exploratione rimetur, ut quicumque in unum Paschæ diem non obsequenti religione convenerint, tales indubitanter, quales hac Lege damnamus, habeantur.*

The

* viii. 370.

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The latter part of this law hath in view the *Quartadecimans*, and the *Audians*, who celebrated Easter on the same day with the Jews *."

Two years afterwards, he made a law against the *Tascodrogitæ*, and would not suffer them to assemble together. All that we know of these poor obscure heretics is from the testimony of their adversaries, of Epiphanius and Augustin, who tell us that they were a sort of Pythagorean fanatics, who made their prayers inwardly and silently, holding their noses and their lips with their hands, lest any sound should transpire. It was cruel to teize and punish these folks for saying *nothing;* since, according to the Roman law, *silentii rationem nemo reddere tenetur*. They could not be fairly charged with heresy or treason in their *silent meetings*.

A. D. 382. Evagrius went and dwelt amongst the Egyptian monks. Palladius says that this Evagrius, when news was brought to him that his father was dead, replied to the messenger, Do not blaspheme; for my Father is immortal. Socrates ascribes this saying to some monk, whose name is not preserved. The same thought is to be found in Q. Curtius †, who might borrow it from some Greek writer:

When Alexander, says he, had accepted from the priest of Jupiter Hammon the title of *Hammon's son*, he forgat himself a little, and talked as if he had been *the son of Philip*. *Post hæc, institit quærere, an omnes parentis sui interfectores pœnas dedissent? Sacerdos parentem ejus negat ullius scelere posse violari: Philippi autem omnes interfectores luisse supplicia.*

* Basnage iii. 82. † iv. 7.

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Some have suspected Q. Curtius to be a modern author; but Montfaucon * observes that there is a manuscript of this historian, in Colbert's library, eight hundred years old.

Helvidius wrote a book, about this time, to shew that the Virgin Mary had children by Joseph, after the birth of Christ; and was of opinion that a state of virginity was not holier than a married state. Jerom wrote against him, at the request of many pious brethren, *Fratrum precibus*, and treats him as an insignificant blockhead; but so he treated every one with whom he had controversies.

Jovinian had been brought up with the monks, and had left them. He also had the same slight opinion with Helvidius concerning the dignity of virginity, and the duty of abstinence from certain meats. Jerom wrote against him likewise, extolling virginity, and depressing matrimony in a fanatical and a scandalous manner. Jerom's treatises on this subject excited the indignation of reasonable persons; but he had the *wrong-headed*, that is to say, a vast majority on his side.

He cited some sentences from Jovinian, as specimens of his bad style; and indeed they are bad enough, and gave Jerom a fair opportunity to ridicule him.

Jerom calls Jovinian an epicurean, and a debauché, though the man lived in a state of continence. Pope Siricius excommunicated him and his followers, as heretics and blasphemers; and the emperor Honorius, at the instigation of the ecclesiastics of those days, condemned him to be whipped, like the vilest criminal,

* See *Bibl. Chois.* xvii. 344. and Fabricius *Bibl. Lat.*

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nal, in a brutal manner, and then sent in banishment to a poor little island.

Jovinianum sacrilegos agere conventus extra muros Urbis sacratissimæ, Episcoporum querela deplorat. Quare supra memoratum corripi præcipimus, & contusum plumbo cum cæteris suis participibus & ministris exsilio coërceri: ipsum autem machinatorem in insulam Boam festina celeritate deduci.

There, says * Gennadius, he died like *a glutton*, with intemperate feasting. That is, as Juvenal says of Marius,

Exsul ab octava Marius bibit, & fruitur Dis Iratis.

One would rather imagine that he died like *a beggar*. It is not a probable story, that a poor, hated, anathematized, persecuted, beaten, and banished man should have lived in affluence, and fared sumptuously every day, upon *hams* and *cock-pheasants*, as Jerom tells us, when he says;

Ille Romanæ Ecclesiæ auctoritate damnatus, inter phasides aves & carnes suillas, non tam emisit spiritum, quam eructavit.

Boa was a small island of Illyricum, the worst I suppose which could be found, to which criminals used to be transported.

Jerom, who exerted himself against Helvidius and Jovinian, hath well described his own temper, when he breaks out into these vehement words;

Canes latrant pro dominis suis: tu me non vis latrare pro Christi veritate? Mori possum: tacere non possum.

In this sort of turbulent zeal our learned and warlike father hath had a multitude of disciples and imi-

* See Basnage iii. 88. 124. Fleury v. 384.

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tators, ancient and modern; and the sect of *Barkers* hath been one of the most conspicuous and formidable sects in the Christian world. In one thing they differ from dogs, of whom it is observed that they who *bark* most, *bite* least.

If we should say that Jerom was a persecutor, we should do him no wrong; we have it under his own hand;

Imperatorum quoque scripta, quæ de Alexandria & Egypto Origenistas pelli jubet, me suggerente dictata sunt: ut Romanus Pontifex miro eos odio detestetur, meum consilium fuit: ut totus orbis, post translationem tuam, in Origenis odia exerserit, quem antea simpliciter lectitabat, meus operatus est stylus *.

Jerom, in a treatise addressed to Eustochium, had censured very roughly the scandalous behaviour of the Roman clergy. This, as we may suppose, made them his enemies, and they censured him again so freely, that he grew weary of dwelling at Rome, his great friend and patron Damasus being dead.

We have mentioned the bad character which Gregory Nyssen gave of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. Jerom also, in an epistle to Paulinus, says, Think not that any thing is wanting to your faith because you have not seen Jerusalem, or that I am the better for dwelling at Bethlehem. Jerusalem is a great city, which, like other great cities, hath a public council, a court, officers, theatres, actors, buffoons, courtezans, a crowd of people, and a concourse from all parts of the world. Here therefore you would find every thing that you are desirous to shun.

A. D.

* Apol. adv. Rufin.

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A. D. 383. About this time is placed the martyrdom of Saint Ursula, and the eleven thousand virgins, all of them English girls. Some writers of the church of Rome treat this story as a fable: but it would be no great wonder to see it defended by some Protestant writers, who will now and then patronize old romances, which are slighted even by Papists of learning and judgment.

Eunomius, an Arian, was made bishop of Cyzicus, in the year 360. He was afterwards deposed, and three times banished. At last he obtained leave to return to his own country, and to die at home. He wrote an Exposition of Faith, and presented it to Theodosius, in which he useth no subterfuges, equivocations, and ambiguities, but delivers his sentiments fairly, fully, and perspicuously. His books were ordered to be burnt. His disciples, the Eunomians, could not hold together as a sect, but were divided into parties. Very severe laws were made against them *.

A. D. 384. "The city of Antioch, and many other parts of Syria were grievously afflicted by famine and pestilence. Libanius, a Pagan sophist, wrote to Icarius the governor, earnestly exhorting him to assist and comfort the poor, who flocked to Antioch for relief. But Icarius returned him this barbarous and impious answer, that *the gods hated the poor*: at which Libanius expresses a just abomination and horror. This speech seems to shew that Icarius must have been a Pagan †."

* Basnage iii. 155. Philostorgius, p. 540. See *Remarks on Eccl. Hist.* ii. 279, &c.

† Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. v. 228.

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We have heard of a rascal in our own days, and in our country, who made the same speech, and who certainly knew nothing of Icarius. Thus, according to the proverb, Bad wits, as well as good wits, jump; and hit upon the same sentiments.

Perhaps you think the poor might have their part;
Bond damns the poor, and hates them from his heart.—
God cannot love, says Blunt with tearless eyes,
The wretch he starves—and piously denies *.

Amongst the singular things which Jerom saw at Rome, he relates the following story: There was a married couple, of the lowest of the people. The man had buried twenty wives, and the women twenty-two husbands. Every one was curious to observe which should outlast the other. It proved the woman's turn to drop first; and the husband, with a crown on his head, and a branch of palm in his hand, like a triumphant emperor, headed the funeral pomp, accompanied with the concourse, and the loud acclamations of the multitude †.

A. D. 384. Epiphanius had been a monk, bred up amongst the monks: and in his old days he contracted a violent hatred of Origen, and was drawn in by a prelate far more crafty, and far less honest than himself, by Theophilus, to persecute the Origenists and Chrysostom. At that time the empress Eudoxia recommended to his prayers her son Theodosius, who was dangerously ill; and this fanatical prelate sent her word that the child should recover, if she would get

* Pope, *Mor. Ess. Ep.* iii. † Epist. ii.

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get the Origenists and the works of Origen to be condemned.

The style of Epiphanius, says Du Pin, hath neither beauty nor dignity; on the contrary, it is simple, mean, grovelling, rude, unpolished, without connection and coherence. He had much reading and erudition, and no discernment. Often he employs inconclusive arguments to confute heretics. He was very credulous and inaccurate, and mistaken in several points of consequence, ready to adopt false accounts and frivolous rumours. He had much zeal and piety, with little discretion.

It is related in the *Vitæ Patrum*, that Epiphanius invited Hilarion the monk to dinner; and a dish of fowls being set before them, Epiphanius helped Hilarion, who said, Excuse me, Father; since I have worn the habit of a monk, I have never eaten animal food. And I, replied Epiphanius, since I have worn the same habit, have never suffered any one to lie down to sleep, having aught against me: nor have I ever gone to sleep, with any resentment against another. The rule which you observe, said Hilarion, is more excellent than mine.

The rule was certainly a good one: the question is whether the good bishop always observed it.

Epiphanius is said to have wrought many miracles, both living and dead *.

A. D. 385. Theophilus was made bishop of Alexandria. Jerom commends him as an useful writer: Leo calls him *Episcopum sanctæ memoriæ;* Facundus gives.

* Sozomen vii. 27.

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gives him the title of *Beatus;* and Theodoret says that he was one of singular prudence and fortitude. The truth is, that he was a man of parts, and a consummate knave. I know not by what fatality it came to pass that no episcopal see was ever so pestered with bad prelates as Alexandria.

A. D. 385. Sir i ius, bishop of Rome, in a decretal, orders that baptism should only be administered at Easter, and fifty days following: but he makes exceptions for persons in dangerous circumstances, and for young children; which shews that infant-baptism was then practised*.

A. D. 386. Valentinian II. by a law, granted a toleration to the Arians †.

Hoc decreto flammis persecutionis Ecclesia cingebatur, says Basnage ‡. So, because the Arians were permitted to meet together to worship God, the church was in danger, and under cruel persecution! One would not expect such remarks from refugees, and Protestant historians. They are fitter for Bellarmin and Baronius.

Justina, a patroness of Arianism, and a *Jezabel*, as Ambrose, Guadentius, Tillemont, and others call her, wanted to obtain from Ambrose one church for the Arians in the city of Milan, and made her son Valentinian require it. Ambrose flatly refused it, and said that the emperor had no right to dispose of any of the churches, and that they belonged to the bishop. The

* Fleury iv. 469.

† Cod. Theod. L. xvi. Tit. i. p. 13. where see *Gothofred.*

‡ iii. 102.

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The emperor began to use violence; but the people, and even the emperor's guards, took the bishop's part so warmly, that an insurrection was feared, and so the bishop prevailed.

The emperor Maximus also interposed in favour of Ambrose and of orthodoxy; Maximus, a murderer of his prince, and an usurper of the empire.

In the midst of this warm contention, Ambrose like a man of parts played off his *artillery of miracles* upon the emperor and the Arians. By divine revelation he found the bodies of two unknown saints; and this amazing discovery was attended with a train of wonders; nor were dæmoniacs wanting, who acted their part to admiration, howling and crying out that they were tormented by the reliques of these saints. The Arians doubtless derided and reviled these miracles; but the populace swallowed them greedily, and took it all for Gospel. And thus, as Tillemont well observes, God stopped the violence of the persecution, by revealing at that time to his servant Ambrose the bodies of *Gervasius* and *Protasius*.

The prelate, when his hand was in, discovered four other bodies of imaginary saints. Against heretics all arms are lawful *.

Basnage seems to admit the truth of these miracles †, as wrought in behalf of orthodoxy.

Du Pin judges rightly concerning this affair, when he says: It is thought that the discovery of the reliques, and the miracles wrought by them, contributed to the peace of the church. But probably the true reason which restrained Justina and Valentinian from pushing things to extremity, was a political reason, from

* See *Mosheim*, i. 166. † iii. 106.

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from the state of the empire, and a fear of giving Maximus a plausible pretext to attack them.

During this contest, Ambrose preached a Sermon, in which he compared the empress to Job's wife, to Eve, to Jezabel, and to Herodias.

The hymn called the *Te Deum* is commonly ascribed to Ambrose; but is of a much later date. The time when it was made and its author are ununknown *.

Ambrose, in his zeal for virginity, exhorted girls to enter into the monastic state, even against the will of their parents †. *Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition*, &c.

A. D. 387. Amongst innumerable miracles ascribed to John of Lycopolis, one is that, according to his promise, he appeared one night in a dream to a pious lady, whilst he was alive, and very remote from her. Augustin, who relates the story, starts many curious questions concerning the manner of it, and the way in which it could be done: yet there is one very obvious solution, which never entered into his head. *The woman saw John in a dream:* that is, *The woman dreamed that she saw John.*

It is related by Sozomen, and by several Christian writers, that Theodosius sent the eunuch Eutropius to John the monk of Thebais, who was accounted a prophet, to consult him concerning the issue of the war which he had undertaken against Eugenius; and that John foretold that after an hard struggle he should obtain the victory, and destroy the tyrant, and then die himself in Italy: all which came to pass ‡.

The

* Basnage, iii. 112. † *De Virginit.*
‡ Tillemont, *H. des Emp.* v. 362.

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The story was well known; for Claudian, who lived at that time, and who was a Pagan, makes mention of it, though this testimony hath escaped the diligence of Tillemont, and of other writers of Ecclesiastical History. Claudian indeed treats the story with much contempt, saying, in his poem against Eutropius*:

Atque inter proprias laudes Ægyptia narrat
Somnia, prostatosque canit se vate tyrannos.
Scilicet in dubio vindex Bellona pependit,
Dum spado Tiresias, enervatusque Melampus
Reptat, ab extremo referens oracula Nilo!

A. D. 388. *Epiphanius* and *Jerom*, two fathers of quarrelsome memory, disturbed the Christian world by their contentions with *John* of Jerusalem, who was an admirer of Origen. Epiphanius and Jerom condemned the Origenists, and John the Anthropomorphites.

Epiphanius destroyed a picture of Christ, or of some saint, which he found hung up in a church, accounting it to be a superstitious and idolatrous ornament, and gives an account of what he had done, in an epistle to John.

"They whose consciences are not hardened past all feeling, must acknowledge that Epiphanius condemned the use of images in churches, and that such practices were contrary to the then received discipline; of which Epiphanius could not be ignorant, who had travelled through so many regions. Du Pin fully acknowledgeth this whose candour we ought to commend. Baronius was sadly distressed by this testimony of Epiphanius, and thought it best to have recourse

* i. 312.

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course to effrontery, and to cut the knot which he could not untie. He pronounced this part of the letter of Epiphanius to be spurious; and Bellarmin was of the same opinion; though many things concur to prove it to be genuine, *&c.* *"

Petavius and Sirmondus, though Jesuits, acknowledge it to be genuine †.

Amongst the Arabians, a sect arose of persons called *Colyridians*, who offered up cakes to the Virgin Mary, as to a goddess, to the queen of heaven. Epiphanius wrote against them, and treated them as heretics and idolaters. But the idolatrous worship of the Virgin became in process of time the most triumphant of all heresies; and Epiphanius, if he had lived in the latter centuries, would have been put into the inquisition, and roasted alive for censuring such idolatrous practices, and for destroying a sacred picture.

At this time happened the famous sedition at Antioch, which gave occasion to the emperor Theodosius to exercise his lenity.

"The Pagans themselves, as well as the Christians, confessed that the rioters were only the ministers and instruments of evil dæmons, the first authors of all the mischief, and they relate that a person was seen to appear under different figures. and then disappeared, which caused great terror, *&c.* ‡"

It is reported, says Sozomen §, that on the night before the day of the sedition, a spectre was seen, of a fe-

* Basnage iii. 116. See Tillemont, x. 807.

† See Stillingfleet, vol. v. p. 449.

‡ Tillemont, *H. des Emp.* v. 265. § vii. 23.

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a female form, a vast stature, and a grim aspect, which flew over the streets of the city, lashing the air with a loud-sounding whip, such as is used in the amphitheatres, to provoke and enrage the wild beasts. Thus some pernicious dæmon treacherously excited this tumult.

Upon which passage Mr *Reading* gravely remarks, in his notes, that such spectres had been sometimes seen, as Pagan writers also testify, and particularly Plutarch in the Life of Brutus.

It is hard to say who shews the most judgment here, Sozomen or his annotator. It was an excuse invented by the Antiochians for their impudence and fury. Agamemnon in * Homer makes the same apology for himself: *Not I, but the devil who was in me.*

——Ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἴτιός εἰμι,
Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς, καὶ Μοῖρα, καὶ ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρίννυς—
The fault was not in me; but Jove and fate,
And dark Erynnis hovering in the air,
Inflam'd me with mad strife and noxious rage.

The *spectre* described by Sozomen is exactly the Poëtical *Bellona*, as represented by Virgil, and by twenty of his brethren. See Valerius Flaccus †, where Venus, transformed into a fury, excites the Lemnian women to murder their husbands:

—*effera et ingens,*
Et maculis suffecta genas, pinumque sonantem
Virginibus Stygiis nigramque similLima pallam.

Theodosius conquered the tyrant Maximus, and put him to death, and behaved himself with tolerable moderation towards his adversaries, after his victory. Pacatus thus celebrates his clemency: *Nullius bona*

* Iliad. T. 86. † ii. 104.

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bona publicata, nullius mulctata libertas, nullius præterita dignitas imminuta, &c.

But there is no trusting to panegyrics, and it appears that the effects and estates of some persons at least were forfeited and seized *.

" God began at this time to blast the undertakings of Maximus: and this tyrant had, besides his other crimes, drawn upon himself the curse of God by an action which doubtless will seem lawful enough to those who have more of the political spirit, than of zeal for the honour of religion. For having heard that a Synagogue of the Jews had been burnt at Rome by the Christians, he sent thither a severe edict, under the pretence of maintaining peace and good order; which made the people say that this prince was become a Jew, and certainly would not prosper, and get the better of Theodosius. The soldiers also, who were sent to execute the edict, said amongst themselves, How can we expect that Jesus Christ will assist us, since we are fighting against him in behalf of the Jews? The emperor however proceeded no farther than to words and menaces; and yet St Ambrose observes that God had abandoned him, and that he had perished for this fault †."

See how bigotry can extinguish all sentiments of humanity, and of common honesty.

At the same time some turbulent monks had burnt a church of the Valentinians, and a bishop had done the same to a Jewish synagogue. Complaint being made of these outrages to Theodosius by a civil magistrate, he threatened to punish the offenders, and to

* Cod. Theod. L. iv. Tit. xxii. p. 414. and Gothofred.

† Tillemont, *H. des Emp.* v. 292.

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to make them rebuild what they had destroyed. But Ambrose interposed, took the exploits upon himself, justified these proceedings as devout and meritorious, bullied the emperor into a mean submission, and made him cancel the decree that he had drawn up, and humour the seditious zeal of this fanatical father. See Basnage *, whose judgment upon this occasion is rational and honest.

A. D. 389. There were at Alexandria two pagan grammarians, of whom one was priest of *Jupiter*, the other was priest of *the monkey*. This serves to illustrate Juvenal xv. 4.

Effigies sacri nitet aurea Cercopitheci.

The image of the *monkey-god* † was preserved by the Christians, when they destroyed all the other Idols in Alexandria, that it might be a monument of Egyptian folly and superstition.

The Pagans and the Christians both made themselves merry with this Egyptian god: but it is observable that he hath survived Jupiter and Juno, and all the classical gods *majorum* and *minorum gentium*.

The Portuguese robbed a temple at Ceylon, and took away the celebrated *tooth of the monkey*, which was most devoutly adored by the inhabitants, who offered an immense sum to the Viceroy of Goa, to redeem it. But he, in his zeal against pagan idolatry, chose rather to burn it publicly in the market-place. Huber, though he was a Dutchman, compares this action of the Viceroy with the conduct of his own countrymen in Japan, where they had agreed to perform no public act of religion; and concludes that if they

* iii. 114. † Socrates, v. 16.

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they had been possessors of *the monkey's tooth*, they would have made a different use of it *.

Theophilus, having obtained leave to destroy the pagan temples in Alexandria, set about it, and *sent for the monks*, says Fleury †, *to assist him with their prayers*. Fleury should have said,—*with their fists*. *Non* precibus, *sed* pugnis.

A. D. 390. Theodosius made a law to curb the monks, requiring them to retire back to their desarts and caves, and to dwell there. This edict seems principally to have concerned the monks of Egypt and Syria, who, under pretence of zeal, used to frequent the cities, and importune the magistrates and judges, solliciting them to forgive and discharge criminals, and even exciting tumults and seditions; and who also waged open war with the pagans, destroying their idols, and demolishing their temples. Yet the emperor, whose second thoughts were not the wisest, repealed this law, about twenty months afterwards, as having been extorted from him by the importunity of magistrates, who were prejudiced against those godly men; and gave the monks a permission to ramble about and enter into cities, when they in their wisdom thought proper ‡.

The second Carthaginian synod was held this year, and it seems to have been held for little else than to favour episcopal pride, and episcopal encroachments ||.

A. D. 391. The head of John the Baptist ‡ is said to have been found. It was also found long afterwards

* Bibl. Univ. xxiv. 180. iv. 599.
‡ See Fleury, iv. 586. || Basnage, iii. 124.
† Sozomen, vii. 21. Basnage, iii. 128. 480.

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wards in another place; whence it appears that this *John* was a *Janus*, and had two heads.

" As at Amiens they were shewing to the princess Mary the head of John the Baptist, she kissed it, and told me to draw near, and do the same. I attentively viewed the shrine, and its contents, and I did like the company, only saying in the softest manner, that this was the fifth or sixth which I had the honour to salute. This surprized her highness a little, and drew from her a sort of smile, which however was not perceived. The keeper of the relique, taking notice of my speech, replied, that indeed mention was made of several (for perhaps he had heard that there were such at St John of Lyon, at St John of Morienne, at St John of Angely in Saintonge, at Rome, in Spain, in Germany, and in many other places) but that this was the genuine head; and to prove his assertion, he bad us observe the hole which was in the scull, over the right eye, and was the very hole which Herodias made with a knife, when the head was brought to her in a charger. Methinks, said I, the gospel hath taken no notice of this particular circumstance. But finding him grow warm in defence of the contrary, I submitted to him with great deference and respect *."

Marcellus, bishop of Apamea, burnt a temple of Jupiter in a miraculous manner, and put a devil to flight who protected it.

" He put fire under some wood; but a devil of a black colour shewed himself, and stopped the effect of the fire.

Marcellus immediately going to a church, ordered a vessel of water to be brought, and placed it under

† Colomies, *Rome Protestante*, p. 753.

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the altar, and offered up his prayers to God. Then signing the water with the sign of the cross, he sent his deacon to sprinkle the wood with it, and then to put fire to the wood. Whereupon the devil fled, being chased away by the virtue of the water, which proved like oil to the flame, and immediately consumed the temple *."

A. D. 392. Theodosius published the following law against paganism and idolatry :

Nullus omnino ex quolibet genere, ordine hominum, dignitatum, vel in potestate positus, sive potens sorte nascendi, seu humilis genere, conditione, fortuna, in nullo penitus loco, in nulla urbe, sensu carentibus simulacris vel insontem victimam cædat, vel secretiore piaculo, Larem igne, mero Genium, Penates nidore veneratus, accendat lumina, imponat thura, serta suspendat. Quod si quispiam immolare hostiam sacrificaturus audebit, aut spirantia exta consulere, ad exemplum Majestatis reus, licita cunctis accusatione delatus, excipiat sententiam competentem, etiamsi nihil contra salutem Principum, aut de salute quæsierit †, &c.

Ambrose highly extols this law, and the pious zeal of Theodosius in thus exterminating pagan superstition ; and Basnage ‡ is no less liberal of his encomiums.

See here how all taste was lost, and laws drawn up in a puerile, verbose, and pedantic style, in tawdry prose, consisting of ends and scrapes of verses! Whatsoever Ambrose and Basnage might think of it, this was mere violence and persecution ; and the decree, in all respects, both for matter and manner, was beneath the imperial majesty. One would think that the

* Theodoret, v. 21. † Cod. Theod. L. xvi. Tit. x. p. 273. ‡ iii. 137.

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the emperor intended to turn all his Christian subjects into informers and pettifoggers, and to set them like so many spies and eves-droppers to peep into the dwellings of the pagans, and to see whether they paid any religious honours to their household gods.

A. D. 394. Paulinus was ordained a presbyter, and afterwards bishop of Nola. Paulinus says, that the clergy of Rome envied all the ecclesiastics who had a reputation for piety, and gives this as one of the reasons for which he chose to live far from that city. He opposes to the proud and insolent manner in which Pope Siricius had used him, the charity and affability of the bishops and the clergy who dwelt in the country.

Paulinus, as Dn Pin observes, was not very learned; but there is something that is agreeable in his compositions. He was much beloved and esteemed by all the eminent men of his time, in all parties, and he never fell out with any of them. He was remarkably charitable, and gave his great estate to the poor; he lived soberly and frugally, yet without practising any extraordinary mortifications. He was of a pious and humble temper, had a great veneration for saints and martyrs, a propensity to believe miracles, and a reverence for reliques *.

Ausonius pays a compliment to Paulinus, and says;

Cedimus ingenio, quantum præcedimus ævo:
Assurgit Musæ nostra Camœna tuæ.

The Donatists in Afric made a schism amongst themselves, and three hundred and ten of their bishops held a council, to condemn their own brethren, in which they poured out all sorts of execrations against

* See *Cave*, i. 228.

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them; and also implored the help of the civil magistrate. They thus prefaced their decree:

Placuit Spiritui sancto, qui in nobis est, pacem firmare perpetuam, et schismata reserare sacrilega.--Maximianum [Episcopum] *fidei æmulum, veritatis adulterum, Ecclesiæ Matris inimicum, Dathan, Core et Abiron Ministrum, de pacis gremio fulmen excussit, et quem adhuc eundem dehiscens terra non sorbuit, ad majus supplicium Superis reservavit.*

Then they proceed to anathematize those who had ordained Maximianus:

Famosi ergo criminis reos—qui funesto opere perditionis vas sordidum collectâ feculentiâ glutinaverunt, sed et clericos aliquando Ecclesiæ Carthaginiensis, qui dum facinori intersunt, illicito incestui lenocinium præbuerunt, Dei præsidentis arbitrio, Consilii ore veridico damnatos esse cognoscite.

Augustin, writing against these men, says, You sent a crier to make proclamation, Whosoever shall communicate with Maximian, his house shall be burnt.—You seized upon Salvius, one of those prelates who ordained Maximian, and tying dead dogs to the old man's neck, you led him about the streets in triumph, dancing round him.

Yet after all this violence, the Donatists made up the quarrel, and received Maximian and his partizans; which levity and inconstancy gave Augustin no small advantage in his disputes with these schismatics.

The uncouth style of this African decree, and its turgid jargon we may pardon, as the fault of the age, and of the country, and the language of men who knew no better, and who doubtless thought the composition to be wonderfully smart and elegant: but the indecency of it is inexcuseable, and the profane impudence

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impudence of joining the name of God and of the Holy Spirit to such uncharitable scurrility *.

A. D. 395. "*Arcadius* and *Honorius* were taught to believe that the prosperity of their father Theodosius, and the destruction of their enemy Rufinus, were the effects of that emperor's piety, that is, according to the language of those days, of his exalting the orthodox, and depressing the heretics. Therefore they confirmed all that their father had done in favour of the church, and made many new laws against heretics and schismatics, against the Arians, Eunomians, Luciferians, Macedonians, &c. The Eunomians, who carried Arianism to the greatest length, were deprived of the power of making a will, or of receiving a legacy, and were excluded from all employments at court.

Arcadius ordered that all edifices, in which the heretics assembled at Constantinople, should be confiscated, that their ecclesiastics should be expelled from that city, and that they should not meet together, even to pray to God. What is singular, is that this emperor was very favourable to the Jews, and took them under his protection. It is hard to conceive how these princes could hope to draw down the favour of heaven by persecuting heretics, most of whom certainly received the greatest part of the essentials of Christianity, and by protecting the Jews who rejected it entirely. For, in short, a man must have been no better than fool or mad, not to see that the Jews were sworn enemies of Jesus Christ, and held him to have been an impostor; and that the heretics, as the

* See *Basnage*, iii. 147.

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Arians of all denominations, the Macedonians, &c. believed him, on the contrary, to be a person, at least, sent from God, and that they professed to acknowledge all his doctrines as true and sacred, though they might be mistaken in the sense which they affixed to some parts of them. This being the case, if Jesus Christ was well pleased when the heretics were persecuted, if he rewarded the orthodox persecutors with victories and prosperity, how much more must he have been delighted to see the Jews oppressed. To reject the whole of Christianity, without deigning to give the Christians an hearing, as the Jews did; and to profess an assent to the whole, and be mistaken only in some particular points; these are faults which surely are not equal. Yet they shewed the most favour to those who were most culpable; and with great severity they oppressed those whose offence was smaller.

But it is easy to guess the cause of all this. They shewed no regard to the ordinary rules of justice, and would not sedately consider their own proceedings. They complied with the passions of some orthodox prelates, who had no fear that the Jews would entice their congregations from them, and therefore cared not what the Jews said, or what they taught; but being apprehensive lest heretical preachers should draw away their flock, and weary of disputing with such people, instigated the emperors to shut their mouths, and to treat them with severity. It was necessary therefore to talk of the glory of God, to describe him as grievously offended at those, who having the power to exterminate heretics, would not exert it; to represent him as granting success to orthodox persecutors, and causing those to be shamefully overthrown, who had any compassion for the heterodox.

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heterodox. As to the Jews, they were considered as quite out of the question, as men with whom Jesus Christ had no concern. And perhaps the Jews, by bribes properly applied, bought the favours which were granted to them, whilst heretical Christians called themselves orthodox, and either scorned or scrupled to purchase that liberty which they had a right to enjoy.

The misfortune was, that the boasted victories obtained by these persecuting princes were very trifles, compared with the calamities under which the Roman empire had groaned for twenty years, and which Jerom deplores in tragical terms. But far heavier soon ensued in Italy and Afric, by the invasions of the Goths and Vandals. No sufferings inflicted by the princes on the heretics, no curses and excommunications poured out upon them by holy councils could avert the wrath of heaven, which gave up the Roman empire a prey to barbarians.

It is strange that the emperors never once took it into their heads to try whether they could obtain the divine protection by a method directly contrary, by tolerating heretics, since whilst they oppressed them, they saw the barbarians growing more and more formidable, and invading the best provinces of the empire. Such a conduct had been more conformable to natural humanity and Christian charity. Even the rules of worldly policy, and the peace and repose of the empire, might have induced him to try the experiment. But the outrageous zeal of the ecclesiastics, their desire to domineer over mens consciences, and their inhumanity covered with the mask of orthodoxy prevailed, and obliged the emperors to trample under foot justice, benevolence, charity, and prudence, and

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totally to neglect the true interest of the public, that they might gratify the ceaseless importunity of the persecutors, I thought it proper to set forth truths of this importance once for all, that I may not resume the subject.—

As the emperors had published diverse edicts against the temples and the idols of the Pagans, some turbulent Christians pulled down the statues which were placed only for ornament in baths and public edifices.

Honorius therefore ordered that such statues should not be touched either in Spain or Gaul. In Afric he forbad sacrificing, and ordered the temples to be shut: but he permitted those public rejoicings which they had been accustomed to repeat annually, and would not suffer the temples to be destroyed. Yet some officers of the emperor began to do it in Afric, as Augustin informs us *. In the East, Arcadius ordered that the idol-temples in the country places should be demolished through all Phœnicia.

Thus the Christians returned to the Pagans some of the same ill usage which they had received from them during the three first centuries, instead of alluring them by the patience and mildness which they had so much preached up whilst they were the weaker party. This behaviour tended to make the Pagans still more obstinate, by shewing them that the Christians had affected to talk of moderation and humanity only through self-interest, and not from any religious principle. This at least is certain that the Christians lost all right to complain of the cruelty of the Pagan persecutors, and to cry up the lenity of their religion, which they thus dishonoured.

The

* De Civit. Dei.

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The laws against the Pagans may be found in the Theodosian Code; and from them we learn that the pains and penalties which the Christians inflicted upon them were not so slight and inconsiderable as some may imagine. If a sacrifice was offered up in a private place, with the knowledge of the owner, the place was to be confiscated. If not, twenty-five pound weight of gold was to be paid; and the penalty was the same for a sacrifice offered in a temple. If any one consulted the entrails of a victim, to discover future events, it was high-treason. Augustin, who lived at this time, speaks thus to the Donatists: *Quis nostrum, quis vestrum non laudat leges ab Imperatoribus datas adversus sacrificia Paganorum? Et certe longe ibi pœna severior constituta est; illus quippe impietatis capitale supplicium est.*

This manner of acting was the more dangerous, as the country was still full of Pagan peasants, who defended their gods and their temples with great obstinacy and fury, and were not to be subdued without fighting. Thus though Arcadius, instigated by Chrysostom, had ordered that the temples of Phœnicia should be demolished without tumult, yet many of the monks were wounded and slain; for they were the *dragoons* usually employed on these occasions. We have an oration of Libanius in behalf of the temples, in which the Pagan orator acts the same part before Theodosius, as the Christian apologists had acted before Pagan emperors. One cannot reflect upon these things without concern, without wishing that the defenders of the truth had reserved to themselves the honour of being the only persons who were persecuted for religion.

The

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The bishops of the fourth council at Carthage sent a deputation to Honorius, requesting of him that he would destroy all the remains of Pagan idolatry and superstition.—And this conduct of the Christians occasioned seditions in Afric *."

It is somewhat strange that the fathers of those times, whose zeal was so active against heretics, and who defended the plundering of temples, and the burning of synagogues and conventicles, should have been silent upon another occasion, which seemed full as important at least, namely, the favour shewed by Christian emperors to some Pagans, whom they suffered to be governors of provinces, commanders of armies, magistrates and consuls.

In the Theodosian Code † it is said that they are comprised under the denomination of heretics, and subject to the punishments imposed on such, who are found to deviate even an hair's breadth from the Catholic church.

Hæreticorum vocabulo continentur, et latis adversus eos sanctionibus debent succumbere, qui vel levi argumento a judicio Catholicæ religionis et tramite detecti fuerint deviare.

What a vile oppressive law! what an everlasting source of calumny, and of vexatious and scandalous informations ‡!

A. D. 396. There was an earthquake at Constantinople, in many circumstances strangely resembling that which happened at London, in the year 1750.

For

* Le Clerc, *Bibl. Chois.* viii. 264, &c.
† L. xvi. Tit. v. p. 144.
‡ See *Barbeyrac*, Mor. des P. p. 184.

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For several days the earth shook at Constantinople, and the sky seemed to be on fire. A pious soldier had a revelation that the city should be destroyed by fire from heaven. He went and declared it to Nectarius the bishop, who neglected not the admonition, but took occasion from it to exhort the people to repentance. In the beginning of the night, a fiery cloud was seen in the east, which at first was small, but as it drew nearer, grew larger, so as to hang over the whole city in a terrible manner, accompanied with a smell of sulphur. All the inhabitants fled to the church; but the church could not contain the multitudes. Every one, who was unbaptized, received baptism, as he could, from any one who would administer it. But the cloud began to diminish, and by degrees vanished. Scarcely had the people recovered their spirits, when it was reported that they must depart, for that the city would be destroyed on the next Sunday. Upon this alarm, they all went forth some miles from the city, and the emperor Honorius along with them, and prayed together in the fields. On a sudden they saw a great smoke, which went off, and was followed by a clear and serene sky; and then they returned home with great joy; and though they had left their houses open, nothing was stolen or lost *.

A. D. 397. A third council was held at Carthage. One of its canons was,

Cum altari assistatur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.

Another

* Prosper, *Chron.* Augustin. *De Excid. Urb.* Paulus Diaconus. Basnage iii. 155. Tillemont, *H. des Emp.* v. 441.

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Another was,

Presbyter inconsulto Episcopo Virgines non consecret; Chrisma vero nunquam conficiat.

How alert and careful were these prelates to advance their own authority, and to depress the presbyters! It would have puzzled their African heads to assign a tolerable cause why a bishop should have a better hand at making chrism, than a presbyter. If they had affirmed that he had a better hand at telling over money, some reason might possibly have been given for it.

Another canon was,

Corporibus defunctorum Eucharistia non detur.

Some persons had introduced the custom of giving the eucharist to the deceased, or of burying it along with them; and it continued to be sometimes practised for some centuries *.

This year some Christians were massacred by Pagans. The malefactors were taken, and were released at the earnest request of certain religious people. It was a custom, of which we have many instances, to forgive such Pagans, lest the glory of martyrdom should be impaired, if they who killed the martyrs were punished for it. But this was an absurd piety, since the welfare of civil society, and the laws of God and man, require that murderers be put to death. Basnage † ought to have made this remark on the occasion.

A. D. 398. Martinianus, an hermit, cast himself into the sea, to avoid the company of a female; and was carried safe to land, by two good-natured dolphins.

* See *Dallæus*, De Cult. Lat. p. 957. † iii. 158.

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phins. Even Tillemont * suspects the story of the dolphins to be fabulous.

" Let us not here pass over in silence a law of Arcadius against the Eunomians, those most pestilent heretics *(in Eunomianos, pestilentissimos sane hæreticos)* who deserved to be detested by all good men, not only for their bad doctrines, but for their bad morals. Eunomius had written many books for the instruction of those of his sect; for which reason Theodosius the Great expelled him from the capital.—Arcadius, using his best endeavours to extinguish this impious heresy, suffered not the Eunomians to hold assemblies either in cities or in villages.—He ordered also their books to be destroyed †."

Who would not imagine from these words of Basnage, that the Eunomians were most profligate men? They were, as to doctrine, a sect of Arians; in moral respects, they were like their orthodox neighbours; and what is here affirmed of their wickedness seems to have been mere ‡ hearsay, and calumny. Basnage should have considered that the Jesuits and other zealous Papists treated him and the Calvinists, just as he was treating the Eunomians, and in the same sort of language would have said, concerning the revocation of the edict of Nantes; *Let us not here pass over in silence a law of Louis the Great against the Calvinists, those most pestilent heretics*, &c.

John Chrysostom was made bishop of Constantinople. Socrates gives this character of him, that he was a sober, temperate, peevish, passionate, void of worldly wisdom and of dissimulation, incautious, using immoderate freedom in censuring persons of the highest

* xii. 39. † Basnage, iii. 169.

‡ Remarks on Eccl. Hist. ii 279.

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highest rank, a rigid disciplinarian, desirous of reforming irregularities in the clergy and the laity, and very ready to deal about his excommunications, shunning the company and conversation of men, and appearing morose, haughty, and arrogant to those who knew him not intimately. By these qualities he disobliged the clergy, the men of rank and power in the state, the empress and the emperor, and lived in continual broils, and at last was deposed.

Tillemont and others are extremely offended at Socrates for making so free with the character of this great Saint. Yet the historian's representation of him, upon the whole, seems fair and true enough.

He * persecuted the Novatians and the Quartadecimans, which is a blot upon his character. His quarrel with the empress Eudoxia, whom he compared in one of his sermons to Herodias who wanted the head of *John*, shewed his great indiscretion.

Jerom was one of his enemies, and, in a letter to Theophilus, cruelly insulted over him, after he was deposed and banished.

Chrysostom had a peculiar affection for St Paul, and he had the singular honour of receiving three visits from this Apostle. But, says Tillemont †, this story, having no better voucher than one George of Alexandria, must be looked upon as very uncertain. However, Baronius, who had a voracious appetite for pious frauds, adopts it, as he doth every thing else that served to delude the stupid populace.

Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, thinking it a glorious exploit to humble a bishop of Constantinople, and to trample upon him, brought together a number of vile, seditious, ignorant Egyptian prelates, and drew

* Socrates, p. 326. † xi. 580.

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drew in Epiphanius also, to condemn Chrysostom. Epiphanius, who had been some time with them at Constantinople on this occasion, seems to have perceived at last that it was mere pride, and impudence, and ambition, and private quarrels, and not religious motives, that stirred up Theophilus and his crew against Chrysostom; and therefore he suddenly left them all, and sailed for Cyprus, and died in the way.

"Epiphanius, at the instigation of Theophilus, had condemned Ammonius and some other learned monks, as guilty of Origenism. Ammonius therefore and his brethren paid him a visit; and being asked by him, Who they were, replied, Father, we are the brethren who are called *Longi*; and I beg the favour of you to tell me whether you ever conversed with any of our disciples, or perused any of our writings. No, said Epiphanius. How then, said Ammonius, could you judge those men to be heretics, of whose sentiments you had no proofs? I have been so informed, replied Epiphanius. But we, said Ammonius, have done the reverse of all this; for we have frequently conversed with your disciples, and have read over your works; and having heard many persons make free with your character, and calumniate and censure you as an heretic, we have maintained your innocence, and defended you as our father. You should not therefore have condemned us unseen and unheard, upon reports and hearsays, nor have made so unsuitable a return to us for our good offices to you *."

The old bishop, who was in the main an honest and a well-meaning man, felt the force and the reasonableness of this civil reprimand, and treated these monks very courteously.

Sozomen

* Sozomen, viii. 15.

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Sozomen adds;

"I have also heard, which is still reported by many, that Chrysostom foretold to Epiphanius that he would die in his voyage homewards; and that Epiphanius foretold to Chrysostom that he would be deprived of his bishoprick;

Ἐν ᾧ γὰρ διεφέροντο, ὁ μὲν ἐδήλωσεν Ἰωάννῃ, Ἐλπίζω σε μὴ ἀποθανεῖν Ἐπίσκοπον· ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀντεδήλωσε, Καὶ ἐγώ σε τῆς σῆς ἐπιβήσεσθαι πόλεως. *Nam dum inter se dissiderent, Epiphanius quidem Joanni scripsisse dicitur:* Spero *te nequaquam Episcopum esse moriturum. Joannes vero rescripsit Epiphanio: Nec ego* spero *te in urbem tuam ingressurum esse.*

The meaning seems to be; *I am of opinion* that you will not die a bishop;—that you will not return home. Ἐλπίζω means, to *expect* a thing, whether it be *wished*, or *feared*, or only *foreseen;* and the Latin verb *spero* having the same ambiguity, Valesius chose it on purpose. Tillemont and Cousin translate it; *J'espere que vous ne mourrez point Evesque:* and some have rendered it in English; *I hope you will not die a bishop.* They should rather have rendered it; *Je pense, Je croy: I believe, I am of opinion.*

Tillemont *, and Valesius on † Socrates, reject this story as a fiction; and not without cause.

Socrates, Palladius, and other writers agree in describing Theophilus as a prelate guilty of perjury, calumny, violence, persecution, lying, cheating, robbing, bearing false witness. His enmity to Chrysostom caused many to expose his faults, which perhaps they would else have palliated; and few ecclesiastical historians, either ancient or modern, have spared him.

Isidorus Pelusiota, an honest writer, represents a considerable

* xi. 192. † vi. 14.

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considerable number of the Egyptian prelates and presbyters of those days as a set of vile wretches; and Theophilus, and Cyril of Alexandria, as deserving to be censured on many accounts; and, in an epistle to Cyril, speaks his mind freely, and very justly rebukes and reprimands him *.

Isidorus † was a monk and a presbyter, and one of the most valuable men of the fifth century. His works consist of a great number of epistles.

After Chrysostom's deposition, the people, who were enraged at the loss of their pastor, and would not join themselves to the new-elected bishop, were persecuted with the same inhumanity which the Pagans of old had shewed towards the Christians. The barbarity of the Christians of the fifth century in their religious quarrels was carried to the utmost excess.—The emperor Arcadius had little hand in this persecution, though it was carried on in his name; for he was a poor creature, absolutely governed by his haughty wife, and by the slaves and the eunuchs of the court.

When Chrysostom was sent into banishment, and lay at Cæsarea, the monks of that city, instigated by their bishop who hated Chrysostom, invested the place where he lay, threatening to burn the house over his head, if he did not instantly depart. The soldiers quartered in the city came and very civilly desired the monks to be quiet. But the monks set them at defiance, and told them that they had fought before then with their betters, and had beaten and routed the Prætorian troops, and would use them in the same manner, if they made the least opposition. So the soldiers intreated Chrysostom to depart, sick

* See *Le Clerc*, Art. Crit. iii. 166. † Du Pin iv. 5, &c.

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and weak as he was, declaring that they could not protect him, that the monks were more furious than wild beasts, and that they would rather have to do with an army of the fiercest Barbarians, than fight these desperadoes *.

Learn from these things, and not from Ecclesiastical Historians, what sort of saints most of these monks were †.

The reputation of Chrysostom was re-established thirty-five years after his decease.

" It is a matter of wonder, says Socrates ‡, how it came to pass, that the malice of envy attacked Origen after his death, and yet spared John Chrysostom : for the former, two hundred years after his decease, was excommunicated by Theophilus ; the latter on the five and thirtieth year after his death was received to communion by Proclus. Such was the difference of manners in Proclus and Theophilus. But how these things have been done, and are now done, is no secret to men of sense."

Upon which Valesius makes this solemn and pious remark :

" Socrates here gives us broad hints of his own sentiments. He means, that such procedures flow from the partiality of envy, or of favour. The condemnation of Origen, so long after his death, he ascribes to the envy which Theophilus bare to Origen himself, or to the monks who were called *Longi* ; the honours paid to Chrysostom, whose body was brought back to his own country, he imputes to the fond affection

* Chrysostom, *Epist.* 13. *ad Olymp.*

† Concerning the disorderly conduct of the monks see Stillingfleet, vol. v. 635.

‡ vii. 45.

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fection of Proclus and of the people of Constantinople. But I cannot acquiesce in this judgment of Socrates. For although in transactions of this kind, human passions bear some share; yet the divine justice and providence, which presides over the church, is always the first mover. Origen therefore was and is condemned for the impiety of his doctrines; and Chrysostom, for the integrity of his life and the orthodoxy of his opinions, was justified, and is received by the church amongst the saints."

So then, the divine providence is particularly concerned in the canonization of saints, in exalting John to a place in the calendar, and in excommunicating Origen by the ministry of the wicked Theophilus! This puts me in mind of Pope Urban VIII. who, having received ill treatment from some considerable persons at Rome, said, How ungrateful is this family! To oblige them, I canonized an ancestor of theirs who did not deserve it.

Did Valesius give himself these airs, to please the French clergy? or did he deliver his real sentiments? He insults the memory of Origen, and yet he was a strenuous defender of Eusebius, who, if tried by the same rules of judging, was as to some of his theological notions not less reprehensible than his master, Origen. But Valesius by publishing Eusebius contracted perhaps a fondness for him; and therefore it is a pity that he did not publish Origen likewise.

Basnage *, who commends Chrysostom, yet censures him for one nothing, for allowing too much to human power and human liberty in the performance of religious actions. The charge is so far just enough, that John Chrysostom, to be sure, did not talk on

* iii. 221.

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those subjects like John Calvin, and the rest of the Christian fatalists.

A. D. 398. The fourth council of Carthage was now held. Their sixteenth canon is:

Episcopus Gentilium libros non legat, Hæreticorum autem pro necessitate.

The bishops soon began to relish this good advice, and not to trouble their heads with literature.

Another canon is;

No woman shall teach in the church, or administer baptism: we must understand this, says Fleury *, *except in case of necessity:* which is a false gloss, in favour of the practice of the church of Rome; for whether the practice be allowable or not, certain it is that these Carthaginian bishops did not permit it.

A. D. 399. Rufinus and Jerom fell out.

"It must be confessed that Rufinus, though extremely ill used by Jerom, was one of the most able men of his time. He was not perhaps as learned as the saint, but he had more sedateness. His phrase is not pure, but his stile is more uniform. Though accused of many errors, he hath been convicted of none, and he justified himself very well—So that, in my opinion, many of the moderns have most unjustly insulted his memory †."

Rufinus, says Noris ‡, published an orthodox confession of faith. Basnage justifies him ‖, and shews that Jerom began the quarrel; and Cave § also favours him.

A. D.

* v. 85. † Du Pin. ‡ Histor. Pelag. ‖ iii. 174. § i. 268.

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A. D. 399. This year some scandalous diversions were put down by Arcadius.

There was a festival called *Majuma*, held in the month of August for seven days; during which time the theatres were open for the most indecent sights; women were exhibited naked, and swimming in large baths, and all sorts of debaucheries were practised. This festival had been abolished once before; but being restored to please the populace, it was a second time put down. Chrysostom's eloquence and authority contributed much to this reformation, who in his sermons severely rebuked his Christian audience, for their fondness of such obscene and wicked entertainments. The graver Pagans were no less offended at this licentiousness, and Libanius mentions it with detestation *.

If Chrysostom had lived in our days, he would have exerted himself against *masquerades*, which surely are no better schools of morality, than this *Majuma*.

At the latter end of this fourth century, the number of Egyptian monks only, upon a moderate computation, is supposed to have been seventy-six thousand; and that of the nuns twenty-one thousand. But in following times, the number of these religious persons in the Christian world was doubled and trebled †.

A. D. 400. About this time lived Posidonius, a famous physician, who held that there were no dæmoniacs, and that they who were accounted such, either were impostors, or laboured under a mere bodily distemper. Philostorgius ‡ mentions this, but was not himself of the opinion of Posidonius.

* Basnage, iii. 172. Le Clerc, *Bibl. Chois.* viii. 272.
† See Fleury, v. 30. ‡ viii. 10. p. 524.

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Fabiola died at Rome, a lady greatly commended by Jerom *. He says that she was the first who founded an hospital there for the sick and needy, Νοσοκομεῖον.

"THE works of Chrysostom †, who flourished under Theodosius the Great, and his Son Arcadius, throw much light on the customs and manners of the fourth and fifth centuries. This popular orator hath introduced in his discourses and in his other writings all that passed in his time at the emperor's court, and amongst the consuls, the nobles, and the common people. He describes the circus, the theatres, and all kind of spectacles, the form and the ornaments of houses, the house-keeping, the feasts, and many other things, often entering into a remarkable detail.

"The emperors, says he, wore either a diadem, or a crown set with the most precious stones, and a purple tunic. This distinguished them from others. They also wore silken robes embroidered with gold, in which dragons were represented."

These dragons on the robe of Theodosius have excited my curiosity, to search whether the subsequent emperors ever had the like ornament on their robes. I have examined those which Du Cange hath caused to be engraved, and others which came not to his knowledge, and find nothing of the like kind.

Our author says more than once that their throne was of solid gold. In another place he informs us how the emperors were represented in pictures:

"The ground of the picture is blue. The emperor appears on his throne, having at his sides his horses and

* Epist. 30. † Montfaucon.

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and his guards. His conquered enemies also appear loaded with chains."

He is more copious on the emperor's processions: "They who accompany him are covered with gold. The two mules that draw his chariot are extremely white, and shining all over with gold. His chariot is adorned with precious stones, mixed with plates of gold, which glister as they are shaken. The carpet at the bottom of the chariot is white as snow. His guards and the soldiers that follow him are also covered with gold. The bosses of their shields are gilt, and the great one in the middle is surrounded with smaller gilded bosses which have the shape of the human eye."

White horses and mules passed anciently amongst princes as a mark of sovereignty. According to Herodotus, the Cilicians were obliged to give yearly to Darius, king of Persia, three hundred and sixty white horses. Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, says Livy, went forth from his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, and was imitated in it by Hieronymus, one of his successors. Nero also entered into Naples in a chariot with four white horses, according to Suetonius. Many popes took up the use of such horses, as a sign of sovereignty, and granted it to some prelates. As to the emperors of the west, they continued this use down to the lower ages. When the emperor Charles IV. paid a visit to his cousin Charles V. of France, this king, lest the emperor should make his entry into Paris as into a city of his own dominions, sent a black horse for him, and another for his son, and he himself mounted on a white one entered between them into Paris, as being alone sovereign there.

Yet

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Yet this did not hinder the subjects of the emperors (who could not dispute their sovereignty) from making use of the same coloured horses. The Consuls, the nobles, and the men of great fortunes, went in chariots drawn by white mules or horses, whose heads were covered with silver or gold.

The spears of the emperor's guards were gilt as well as their shields, their clothes were tissue of gold, and the trappings of their horses were gilt,

When the emperor made a præfect, he gave him gold tablets, as a mark of his office. The letter of an emperor was sometimes called *Sacra*, *The Sacred*, without adding the substantive *Epistola*. We see an instance of it in the letter which Honorius sent to his brother Arcadius in favour of St Chrysostom. *Sacra Honorii Augusti missa ad Principem Orientis Arcadium.* The emperor also used to send Νοτάριον, *a notary*, to carry his orders.

Let us pass on to the consuls, the archeon, and the great lords,

" They wore, says he, garments of silk, and belts, and shoes wrought with gold. The archeon, who is the first of the magistrates, is distinguished from the rest by his belt, and by the voice of an herald, who goes before him; by his guards, his chariot, and his sword."

Their eunuchs also were magnificently dressed. What he relates of the number of the servants and domestics of the nobles and the rich, seems almost incredible. He says that some had a thousand, some two thousand, many of whom wore collars and bracelets of gold, and most of whom were barbarians.

The description of the palaces of the great passeth all that we have hitherto produced.

" The

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" The roofs made of wood, were all gilt. The doors, even the large folding doors, were of ivory. In all the chambers the walls were incrusted with marble. If they were only of common stone, it was covered with plates of gold. The beams and cielings were gilt, and the apartments were inlaid with small stones and often with precious stones. Over the floors were sometimes spread very rich carpets. Their taste for magnificence could bear nothing of the ordinary kind. In the rooms were great pillars of marble, with their chapiters gilt, and sometimes the whole pillars were gilt, statues by the most excellent artists, pictures, and mosaic work. The beds were usually of ivory or of wood gilt, or covered with silver plates, and sometimes of solid silver decorated with gold. All the furniture was surprizingly rich. The chairs and benches were of ivory: the pots and other vessels even for the meanest use were of gold and silver."

It appears from our orator, that Lacedæmonian veils, or clokes, were then in high esteem, as they had been in preceding times. In the pomp of Ptolemy, described by Athenæus, it is that Nisa, the nurse of Bacchus, was arrayed in a Lacedæmonian veil or mantle.

" These mansions of the rich had baths, great porticoes, long alleys for walking, large gardens, and sometimes aqueducts to water the ground.

" Their tables were bordered with silver. All the utensils employed there, were either gold or silver. This semicircular table was so large, that two men with difficulty could lift it."

This is that table which Martial calls *Sigma*, having the form of that Greek letter, which in those times resembled the Latin C. But it approached nearer to the

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the shape of the horned moon. It was covered with a sort of carpet, on which one might lie or sit down: and this fashion lasted for some time after the fifth century. But afterwards, though the table had its old form, it was not used as a couch. They sat about this table on the convex side. We see this *Sigma* in the monuments of William the conqueror, taken from the tapestries of Bayeux. He is there described sitting with his company on the convex side. They had then brought back the ancient custom, as it was in the days of Homer, of sitting at table: for it was not till after the time of this poet that the fashion of reclining on couches at dinner obtained in Greece.

"Near this table, says our author, was placed an huge vase of gold, weighing half a talent, which two young men could scarcely lift, and by it many golden cups stood in a row. The footmen of the guests were all young, handsome, and as magnificently dressed as their masters. There were also musicians, players on the flute and the lyre; and plenty of perfumes from India, Arabia, and Persia."

As to the meats which were served up, he is not very particular. They had pheasants, and other fowls. No great regularity was observed in the courses. Some began with birds broiled, and stuffed with fish; others with other dishes.

The wine which was most esteemed was that from the island Thasos, so renowned amongst the Greeks and Latins. There was always a great number of Parasites: these were flatterers, who fastened themselves upon the rich, extolling them perpetually, that they might be admitted to their tables.

When

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When the great men walked in the city, there was a crier, magnificently dressed, who proclaimed their coming, a number of lictors carrying rods, and driving away the croud, and a multitude of slaves and parasites. These nobles on such occasions wore a belt or scarf of gold, accounted a most considerable badge of honour.

Our orator often declaims violently against the luxury of the females.

" Besides ear-rings, they have other ornaments for their cheeks; their faces are painted, their gowns wrought with gold, and they have golden ornaments upon their hands. Their shoes are black, and shining and painted at the end. They go in chariots drawn by white mules, with golden reins; a troop of eunuchs follow them, and a great number of chamber-maids and servants. Of their pride and vanity there are no bounds.

Young persons of quality appeared also splendidly apparelled in the public places, attended with many servants dressed as sumptuously. Their shoes were adorned with gold, and they had golden bracelets."

He informs us also that the Greeks had pocket-books, in which, after they had rubbed out the former writing, they wrote again on the same page, ἐν δέλτῳ ἐξημμένῃ. The Latins did the same, and wrote *in palimpsesto*, as Cicero says, or upon the page rubbed out. They who wrote missive letters, put their name at the top.

Gymnic Combats; the Circus, and the Hippodromus.

In these combats, the conquerors were crowned with branches of laurel, and of the olive tree.

The

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The emperors usually assisted at the games of the circus and the Hippodromus. Before the combatants were placed crowns and garments for the victors.

They who ran in the circus knew the name, the pedigree, the country, and the education of the horses, and the victories which they had gained. They often cast their eyes upon the emperor, to see whether he approved their performance, and whether they might hope for the prize: they paid little regard to the applauses of the people. The number of the spectators was so great, that not only the sides of the circus, but the windows and roofs of the neighbouring houses were crouded with them. Many women of no reputation and boys were there to be seen.

In the Hippodromus the racers struggled violently to obtain the prize, and to overturn the chariots which were before them. Our preacher mentions a sad accident at Constantinople in the Hippodromus.

"The disaster of yesterday hath attracted the attention of all the city. The women ran thither in droves, and nothing was to be heard but outcries and lamentations, when the body of the dead youth was carried along. On the next day he was to be married, and all was prepared for the nuptials, when the herald told him that it was his turn to run in the Hippodromus. In the midst of the course, being attacked by his antagonists, he was flung down, and the other chariots ran over him and killed him."

The Olympic Games *.

It appears that they were then in vogue, and celebrated

* I know of no author who hath informed us when the Olympic games, and other games of the same kind ceased.

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brated after great preparations. In these games, when the combatant hath prepared himself during thirty days, in the city, he is carried to the suburbs, and the herald proclaims, Can any one accuse this person of being a slave, or a robber, or a man of an infamous life? If he was even suspected of being a slave, he could not be admitted to the combat.

The *Athletæ* were quite naked, exposed to the beams of the sun. The spectators sat from midnight to the following midnight to know who should be victorious. During the night-time, the herald was very attentive to hinder any of the combatants from stealing away in the dark and disgracing himself.

The Master of the Games animated the combatants, being himself out of the place of battle. It was not permitted to him to come up to them, or to assist them any other way than by exhortation. In these combats the wrestler, the boxer, the *Pancratiastes* who went through all the Gymnic exercises, were engaged many times over; but as soon as they were victors, the herald complimented them on their success.

Sometimes youths, probably boys of quality, were chosen to be *Agonothetæ*, masters or presidents of the Gymnic combats, or of the musical performances, or *Thallophori*, so called because they carried branches in their hands.

The Theatres.

"The theatres were adorned with veils or curtains. Many actors came upon the stage, to represent some fabulous or some ancient history. One acted a philosopher, another a king, *&c.*"

He

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He often inveighs against the spectacles of the theatre, and not without reason, not only because the actions represented made young persons soft and effeminate, but because no regard was paid to modesty and to decency.

"You see there a boy, with his hair cast behind, affecting by his looks, his dress, and his gestures, the appearance of a girl. An old man, on the contrary, hath his head close shaved, and casting off all shame along with his hair, holds out his cheeks to every one, to give him slaps on the face, and is ready to say and to do any thing."

Women also appeared bare-headed. Their discourses were incentives to debauchery, and their aim was to destroy modesty and chastity. Add to this the musical instruments accompanying their voice, and the dramatic representations, all concurring to the same vile purpose.

"You see a woman making her appearance on the stage, barefaced and with all imaginable impudence, arrayed with a golden robe, and remarkable by her wanton airs, her obscene songs, and her filthy discourses."

Sometimes these actresses shewed themselves naked; and in the theatre there was a large bath, where they used to swim in the sight of the assembly.

Of the Rope-dancers.

This exercise was very frequent in the east. The ropes were fastened in such an oblique manner, that there was no walking upon them, except by ascending or descending. The least sidecast of the eye, or the smallest inattention, gave the dancers a fall into the orchestra, which cost them their lives. They no longer

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longer observed the precaution of the good emperor Marcus Aurelius, who caused clothes to be spread under the dancers, to save them from harm; nor the practice of hanging up nets, as Capitolinus informs us, for the same humane purpose. In the time of Theodosius there were neither men on horseback, nor elephants walking upon the rope, which had been practised in former times, as some writers affirm.

"Some, says our author, after having walked on the rope, laid themselves down upon it, and pulled off their clothes, as though they had been going to bed, and then put them on again; a spectacle from which some turned away their eyes, and which made others tremble at the sight of so perilous an action."

Other extraordinary performances.

"There were persons, who being drawn up above the Orchestra, made use of their limbs, as of wings, to fly. Others cast naked swords up into the air, and as they fell, caught them by the handle.

Some put a pole on their forehead, which remains erect and steady, as though it were a tree growing in the ground; and which is stranger still, on the top of this pole there are little boys who fight together. He who carrieth the pole, useth neither his hands, nor any part of his body to support it, whilst it remains thus immoveable."

What is more difficult, says he, [illegible] to ascend the bowls in the midst of swords? It [illegible]ed the prisoners. plain the situation of these swords [illegible]s carried to execu- ficulty consisted. But he speak[illegible] market-place, with a cise practised in his days, and [illegible]er him from speaking made them quite tame. The[illegible] a [illegible], or of his accusers.

All

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and shewed them for money, and it was a profitable trade. When it happened that these beasts, as yet untamed, brake loose from their master's house, all the doors were shut up in the neighbourhood, and the walkers in the streets were obliged to run, and trust to their heels.

Enchantments, Divinations, Prestiges, Auguries, Presages.

It is surprising to find in our author how much the easterns in general, particularly the Antiochians, were addicted to these superstitious follies. Some made use of enchantments and ligatures to cure the diseased. Others, to protect themselves from danger, repeated certain verses, and employed certain bandages. Others tied to their head or to their feet golden medals of Alexander the Great *, hoping that the image of this Pagan prince would be serviceable to them. It may be supposed that this was practised only by those who still continued addicted to Paganism. Alexander, says Ælian, wanted to be acknowledged as the thirteenth god; for the Greeks, as well as the Romans, held twelve superior gods. But there were many Christians at Antioch who still had some remains of Paganism.

"As soon as children are born, the women light
nd give the infants the name of some long-
o procure them the same blessing;

This exercise wa ens that they often die in their in-
ropes were fastened into their hands a *sistrum*, and rat-
there was no walking tles,
or descending. The le
smallest inattention, gav
orchestra, which cost th

* as an amulet the medal of *Alexander*, gy of the name, which comes from

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tles, and threads of a scarlet colour, for their safeguard. They go and dip their finger in the mud that settles at the bottom of baths, and then rub it on the child's forehead. If you ask them, For what? It is, say they, to protect the infant from an evil eye, and from the effects of envy and jealousy. Some write upon the child's hand the name of a river or stream; others use cinders, soot, and salt, for the same purposes."

There was no sort of divination which was not in vogue, as the observation of days, auguries, presages, &c.

"They are ever terrified with panic fears. At going out, I met such a person; it forebodes me much evil. My careless servant, when he brought me my shoes, gave me the left shoe first; a sure mark that I shall be exposed to misery and ill usage. When I went forth, the first step I made was with my left foot; some calamity will befal me. Then my right eye turned downwards; I shall be obliged to shed tears. The braying of an ass, the crowing of a cock, the sneezing of a man, all these are ominous."

The Tribunals, Judgments, Usury.

The hall in which the judges sat had large curtains, which concealed the judges from being seen. Thence the place had the name of Βῆλον, *Velum*. When the judge came forth from behind the veil, to ascend the tribunal, the keeper of the jails produced the prisoners. When a man condemned to die was carried to execution, he was led through the market-place, with a rope put in his mouth, to hinder him from speaking and complaining of his judge, or of his accusers.

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All sorts of acts, deeds, covenants, contracts, testaments, were of no validity, if they had not at the beginning the name of the consul, and the year of the consulate.

The usury called *centesima*, of which he often speaks, is supposed to have been the hundredth part of the principal, to be paid monthly, by way of interest. So that he who borrowed an hundred pounds, paid one pound a month, or twelve pounds a year for it.

Marriages.

He often censures the manner in which they were celebrated. It consisted in dances, immodest songs, hymns in honour to Venus, and representations of adulteries. Prostitutes were invited to the entertainment; and after the feast, the guests, most of them fuddled, led about the town the bride splendidly arrayed and painted, and sang scandalous ballads, offensive, not only to Christians, but even to the Pagans.

The Highways.

He observes that they were in a better condition in his time than they had been before. They were distinguished by Μοναὶ, *mansions*, into which passengers could retreat; and at certain distances there were guards to defend the travellers. At length, for more security, they built houses at the end of every mile, where guards were appointed for this purpose, to watch day and night. In those times fifteen *stadia* were two miles.

The

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The Kalends and Festivities.

In the rejoicings at Antioch on the first day of January, the whole night was spent in dancing, and scoffing at one another. The market-place was adorned with garlands. They put on their best apparel, and then they made their presages. If we pass this new moon in joy, said they, the whole year will be joyful. The women, as well as the men, drank bumpers of unwatered wine. When Theodosius forgave the Antiochians the insult which they had committed in flinging down his statues, and dragging them through the streets, they made great rejoicings, adorning the market-place with crowns, lighting up lamps, and bringing out couches before the doors. These were the *lectisternia* of the ancient Romans, still practised in Syria.

The Pagan Philosophers of those times.

They were remarkable for their long beards, and their clokes of a particular form, and their staff which they always carried in their hand. Where are now, says he, these men, these Gentile philosophers, these Cynics, who practise the trade of expiating the crimes of men? Wretches more contemptible than the dogs under the table, and ready to do any thing to fill their bellies.

Funerals.

When any one expired, his parents or brethren shut his eyes and mouth, according to the ancient practice. There were no graves within the city; they carried the dead out of them, to be buried. This custom was ancient, but often ill observed. The bodies of the rich were wrapped up in a silken robe,

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and carried upon gilded beds. The people assembled about them, celebrating the memory of the deceased. The domestic servants were covered with sackcloth, and so were the horses, led by the grooms. Often they put ashes on their heads.

St Chrysostom condemns black or mourning clothes; but with more reason he inveighs against the *præficæ*, or women hired to act as mourners, who had their arms bare, and tore up their hair, and scratched their faces.

The Persians and Scythians.

They married their own mothers so commonly, that, as he says, a Persian was to be admired who abstained from this vile practice. In his time, they still worshipped the fire.

"Their king, says he, wears a golden beard, and persons skilled in that art, covered every hair of it with gold."

But it seems probable that this was a fictitious beard, as were in ancient times the beards of the Parthian kings, of which we have in our *antiquities* produced a great number that are plainly artificial.

The *Scythians*, *Hamaxobii*, and the *Nomades*, built no houses, but lived in carts, as the word *Hamaxobii* denotes, not only in the time of Chrysostom, but from the remotest antiquity.

THESE are the things of which Chrysostom occasionally informs us concerning the fashions, manners, and luxury which prevailed in the time of Theodosius and of his son Arcadius. Most of these particularities would have been unknown, if he had not mentioned

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tioned them, and in vain should we seek them in contemporary authors.

Polite antiquity was much upon the decline in this age, and sunk continually afterwards, till a kind of barbarity ensued. And yet the monuments of the following ages are not to be neglected, but are rather an object worthy of our curiosity. The degrees of this degeneracy make up a considerable part of history, and should be carefully noted by good historians.

It must also be owned that to these lower ages we are indebted for the most necessary and useful inventions, which had been undiscovered when the elegant arts seemed to have been in a state of perfection. Glass windows, for example, were not invented till about the age of Theodosius the elder; and St Jerom, if I mistake not, is the first who hath spoken of them. Before this time they never thought of applying glass to this purpose. Seneca says that in his days they began to use transparent stones in their windows. They were fetched from different countries, and they used to cut those which let the most light through. The younger Pliny had them. Yet what seemed more obvious for people, who for so long a time had employed and fashioned glass to other purposes, than to apply it to this use, to let in the light, and to shut out the air?

It was also about the time of Theodosius that they began to bring to perfection the *ephippia*, or saddles for horses. On the Theodosian pillar at Constantinople, we find some of the horses that had pommels before and behind, which shews that they had wood within, to keep them firm; whilst before this, they had only saddle-cloths, or coverings of no great thick-

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ness, as we see in abundance of horsemen represented on the pillars of Trajan and Antoninus, on the arch of Constantine, and other monuments.

After this time was invented the use of stirrups. We see none in the representation of horsemen, before the days of Theodosius. To which it must be added that the Greeks and Latins had not a word which signified a *stirrup*. *Stapes*, or *stapeda*, is a word made in the lower and barbarous ages, which have left us so few monuments of this kind, that we cannot by the help of them discover the origin of stirrups.

Water-mills, and wind-mills, were also unknown to the times of polite antiquity. The admirable invention of clocks moved by wheels and springs is owing to the times of barbarity, since Charlemain: for the beautiful clock which the king of Persia sent him in the year 807, and of which historians speak with admiration, was not in the form of our clocks. Some have ascribed the invention of them to Pacificus, archdeacon of Verona, who lived not long before Charlemain: but this is very uncertain *."

In these extracts from Chrysostom, made by Montfaucon, you may behold the vanity, dissipation, levity, pride, voluptuousness, effeminacy, luxury, debauchery, and superstition of the fourth and fifth centuries; to which is to be added the spirit of altercation and oppression, in things relating to religion: all foreboding and forerunning, and naturally producing the great corruption of the church, and the fall of the Roman and Greek empire; just as grey hairs and the increasing infirmities of old age bring a man down to the grave. To God's good providence, and

* Montfaucon, in the *Mem. de L'Acad.* xx. 197.

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and to the promise of our Lord, it is to be ascribed that Christianity was not obliterated in ensuing times. The holy Scriptures and some old Christian records and writings escaped the hands of so many false friends and open enemies, and were the means by which religion was kept from perishing till the Reformation; and after it, Christianity hath been better defended and explained than it had been before, since the apostolical days.

The fathers of the fourth and following centuries, considered as historians or recorders of facts, are valuable; considered as divines, are of very small use and importance, for the most part.

Montfaucon is mistaken about *water-mills*. They were made use of in the time of Augustus, as it appears from a pretty epigram * of Antipater of Thessalonica, in which the poet tells the maid-servants who used to work at the mill, that they might now sleep longer in the morning, and not be alarmed at the crowing of the cock; because Ceres had engaged the water nymphs to supply their office in grinding the corn.

A. D. 401. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, caused the works of Origen to be condemned in a synod, which he held in that city, and ordered that all those who approved them should be excommunicated. It appears strange that Origen's works should have passed so many years without public censure, and at last should be condemned, on account of a few Platonic

* Published by Salmasius, *ad Hist. August. Scriptores*, v. i. p. 857. Boivin, *Mem. de l'Acad.* iii. 391. Jensius, & Heringa, *Observ.* p. 183.

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tonic notions, whilst so many books full of monstrous errors were suffered to appear with impunity, and to take their course through the world. This I say would appear strange, if Socrates and Sozomen had not preserved the history of this affair, and shewed us that it was a particular pique of one covetous and violent prelate, of Theophilus, who laid hold on this pretext to ruin some ecclesiastics, and some Egyptian monks, who could not approve his vile behaviour. He employed the basest disingenuity and the most scandalous tricks to revenge himself upon these men, as the two historians above-named assure us. Baronius indeed, and his abbreviator Spondanus, pretend that these historians were imposed upon by some Origenists. But of this they have no proof to produce; and I see no reason why we should believe Theophilus in his own cause against the Origenists. It is as probable, to consider the thing in general, that he was not an honest man, as that they whom he persecuted were not honest men; for we know full well that bishopricks have not always so happy an effect upon men, as to make them better Christians. But by examining the conduct of Theophilus towards Chrysostom, we see that there was nothing of which he was not capable. From the first dialogue of Sulpitius Severus it appears that many in those days thought Theophilus to be in fault; and they who shall peruse the epistles of Isidorus, who was a contemporary, and who knew Theophilus and his behaviour, will see that this illustrious anchoret had an exceeding bad opinion of him. Epiphanius, it may be said, and Jerom commend him. True: but it is no less true that these were not men of sedateness, moderation, and impartiality, and that they sided with the party

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party that was uppermost. Jerom in particular had once extolled and followed Origen; and after his quarrels with his own bishop, John of Jerusalem, and with Rufinus, he turned about, and began to insult and defame Origen. His works shew that he was a man strangely impetuous and wrong-headed, to say no more.

Theophilus having sent his paschal letter to Rome, in which he condemned the works of Origen, and some ladies there, amongst whom was Marcella, a friend of Jerom, having caballed and solicited against Origen, Anastasius condemned this father, upon the sight of some translations of some of his works.

To proceed regularly in an affair of such consequence, and to do justice to a writer of such eminence and reputation as Origen, they should first have appointed learned and disinterested men to peruse his works, and to extract the erroneous opinions which might be found in them, and to distinguish those parts and those treatises which contained nothing blameable; and thus to assist and caution the reader, and enable him to form a right judgment of this author. If in his treatises there were some Platonic notions interspersed; yet there were also many excellent remarks, and of perpetual use to the church. But the blind violence of the Egyptians, instigated by their patriarch, admitted no kind of moderation; whilst the wiser Christians of those days were for more candid and discreet methods, as it may be seen in the first dialogue of Sulpitius Severus.

About the same time, Porphyry of Gaza wanted leave to destroy the idols and the temples in his diocese. Chrysostom, who was then in disgrace at court, recommended him to the eunuch Amantius, and he introduced

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introduced him to the empress Eudoxia, who was then near lying-in. He said to her; *Labour for Jesus Christ; and for a recompense, he shall give you a son, who shall live and be emperor, you seeing and enjoying him for many years.*

A few days afterwards she had a son; and Porphyry, who had ventured upon this prophecy, trusting to a prediction of one Procopius, a monk of Rhodes, obtained his request. Yet the prophecy was not perfectly accomplished; for Eudoxia died in the year 404. To save the credit of the oracle, Pagi translates it, *He shall live and be emperor for many years, you seeing and enjoying him.* Eudoxia therefore having seen her son emperor (for his father immediately gave him that title) for four years, enjoyed the promised happiness in some sort.

It would be much better to abstain from this custom of promising such blessings, and of representing temporal prosperity as a divine favour, and of thus inducing Christian princes to oppress those who held erroneous opinions. For it is not true that providence favours persecutors more than other persons; and if we presume to judge who are God's favourites by these tokens, infidels will take as much advantage from them as Christians. Thus Libanius, in one of his orations, observes, that Constantine had been punished for seizing upon the riches of the temples, since he put to death his wife, and one of his sons; and after his decease his children took up arms against each other, and were all extinct; and that it had been better for him to have left a flourishing posterity, than a city called by his name (Constantinople), and embellished by him with the plunder of other cities. His son Constantius, says he, who destroyed the temples also, and

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and gave the spoils of them to his courtiers, lived in perpetual fear of the Persians; and all they who appropriated to themselves those sacred things, came to an untimely end. Thus talks this Pagan orator: and in like manner the Pagans insulted the Jews for the calamities which they underwent.

This is enough to shew that temporal prosperity and adversity prove nothing concerning the favour or displeasure of Heaven; whatsoever they may pretend, who make use of such arguments, to serve their own ends, and to excite princes to actions good or bad. But the holy prelates of those days loved things temporal, at least as much as things spiritual, and were very jealous about prerogatives of their sees, and for ever wrangling about their titles, powers, and privileges *."

Amongst the vile methods which were practised to run down the Origenists, Arians, and Nestorians, are to be placed the visions of a certain monk. This fellow had been converted from Nestorianism; and was favoured with a marvellous sight. A man of a formidable aspect took him to a dark, stinking, burning cavern, and there shewed him Nestorius, Theodorus, Arius, and Origen, tormented in the fire †.

A. D. 402. "Sulpitius Severus was a disciple of Martin of Tours, and a particular friend of Paulinus of Nola. He wrote the Life of Martin, and celebrated his miracles. His style is elegant, and far superior to that which was current in those days.

When he was a presbyter, he built a church, and desired Paulinus to give him some relique to place in it; and Paulinus sent him a bit of the cross.

Those

* Le Clerc, *Bibl. Choix.* viii. 280. † See Basnage, iii. 185.

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Those ages were not ages of examination and accuracy, but of credulity and negligence, and any story was propagated which seemed adapted to confirm the people in the faith. Thus Sulpitius and other writers tell us that Helena having built a church on the spot whence Christ ascended up into heaven, it was not possible to pave the place on which our Saviour had trodden immediately before his ascent, and that whatsoever was laid there was flung back into the face of the workmen, and that the print of his feet was impressed on the ground, and that the sand, though it was carried away, could never be diminished.

Here we see either the credulity, or the pious policy of Sulpitius, which induced him to speak of this fable as of an undoubted truth, for the edification of good souls. But if his credulity, real or pretended, for imaginary miracles is censurable, he deserves commendation for condemning the bloody persecution of the Priscillianists.

His Life of Martin abounds with prodigies, which if we admit, we must at the same time admit the most absurd and incredible legends, and thereby cause the best attested miracles to become suspected. This is an important point, and it deserves serious consideration. *It is a dangerous thing*, says Plutarch, *to be too credulous, or too incredulous on some points, because of the weakness of human nature, which can so difficultly preserve the true medium, and sometimes runs into superstition and enthusiasm, sometimes into a neglect and contempt of things relating to the Deity. The best way is to proceed cautiously, and to avoid extremes.* A Christian divine could not give better advice, and it will be a shame for us to be less wise in this respect than a Pagan.

Miracles

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Miracles then are not to be admitted or rejected, without a fair examination. When the relaters had means of being well informed, and no occasion to depend upon rumours, it only remains to consider whether they were not deceived themselves, or whether they were not disposed to deceive us.

When they are things which, as they declare, they had seen many times, and leisurely reviewed and considered, we may be sure that they could not be deceived. If instead of being gainers, they exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, and suffered much by testifying such things, when if they had held their peace, they might have escaped all ill usage, we have reason to think that they have not imposed upon us. If the miracles attested by them were wrought to confirm doctrines perfectly agreeable to reason, and which must produce a general good if they were generally received, I see no room left for doubt. But they recommend themselves still farther to our assent, if they were wrought neither for ostentation, nor without sufficient occasion, but with a certain frugality and moderation, which shews that the persons who performed them sought not their own glory, nor the applause of the multitude, but proposed to do acts of charity, and relieve persons in distress, and at the same time to confirm the divine mission of men who taught a charitable and an amiable system of religion.

Now if we consider the miracles related by writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, we find none of these characteristics of truth. They are perpetually relating things which they saw not, which they learned from hearsays; and in these relations they agree not one with another. Such was the finding of the cross,

a story

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a story told with discordant circumstances, * and a miracle easily counterfeited; for how was it possible to know that a scrap of wood, which was shewed about, was a piece of the true cross? They who gave away these reliques, and had received them from others, might sincerely believe them to be genuine; but how could they be sure that they were not deceived? Was it not rather a clear case that the fragments were counterfeits, since if they had been all put together, they would have made a cross so large, and so heavy, that no one man could have carried it upon his shoulders? It is true, that to remove this obvious difficulty, it was said that the cross was endued with a miraculous vegetation, and though daily cut, yet never was diminished. But who sees not that the bishop of Jerusalem might easily impose upon the people, either by giving them pieces which were not cut off from the cross, or by substituting a new cross, when the old one had been too much chipped and pared? If we should say that the miracles wrought by these bits of wood were fables invented on purpose to enhance their value, or the mere effects of a disordered imagination, we should say nothing but what is more probable than the reality of these prodigies.

Besides, as soon as the Christians became the prevailing party, they who related such false miracles had much to gain; and they had nothing to fear if their pious frauds were discovered. Such men were protected and caressed for the honour of religion, and by way of recompense for their godly intentions. Indeed it was dangerous to attack such frauds, on account of the power and interest of those who were concerned in them. A man was immediately marked for

* Tillemont himself is forced to confess thus much, vii. 3.

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for an heretic or an atheist, and exposed to persecution, as we see by the example of Vigilantius, on whom Jerom poured forth a torrent of foul language, of threats and insults, because he had dared to deride the superstitious venerations of reliques.

These wonders were not wrought, properly speaking, to confirm the Christian religion, already established and secured by imperial laws. The miracles recorded in the Scriptures, and the beauty of the Christian doctrine, these things set in a true light, were sufficient to convert and confirm well-disposed persons.

But the ecclesiastics wanted to attract offerings and presents, and to increase the number of their tributaries. The manifest lucre, which they drew from these proceedings render all their relations extremely dubious, to say no more.

Besides, the doctrine of those days was no longer that amiable and venerable doctrine, so conformable to good sense, and under the most artless simplicity containing all the moral truths that the best philosophers had propounded, and surpassing by far all their discoveries. Christianity was now embarrassed with intricate disputes, rash decisions, new ceremonies, and awkward practices, much more adapted to destroy than to augment true piety.

Miracles were so profusely exhibited, and so ostentatiously vaunted by persons whom it was not safe to contradict, that it might easily be perceived to be a kind of game, tending to establish the authority of the winners, and to take advantage of the credulity of the populace; and it is hard to conceive that men of sense in those days could pay any regard to them.

If

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If you ask, Whence came it that men of sense did not oppose this farce? the answer is obvious, that it was neither safe nor easy to resist the torrent, and that we have not exact accounts of all that passed then in the Christian world. However, we see by some passages in Sulpitius Severus, that he was accused of having inserted a multitude of *marvellous lies* in his Life of Martin. He defends himself by continuing to act the same part, and by expressing much indignation against those who thus strove to make his work contemptible, and consequently useless. To this we may add, that men of probity in other respects, and fully persuaded of the truth of Christianity (and such I take Martin, Paulinus and Sulpitius to have been) having found in the populace a strong taste for the marvellous, and no capacity to receive better proofs, judged it expedient rather to leave them to their prejudices, and to make use of those prejudices to confirm them in the true faith, than to undertake the vain task of curing them of their superstition, and run the risque of plunging them into vice and unbelief. Therefore they humoured the trick, and complied with the fashion, for the good of those who were thus deceived. Examples of the same kind may be seen at this day, and are so common that it is needless to insist upon them.

This seems to be the only way to bring off with some credit the character of the ancients, and particularly of Martin and Sulpitius, who have led me to make these remarks. No person can be more firmly persuaded than I am of the truth of Christianity, and of the miracles by which it was established.

But

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But in our days it is necessary to propound more clearly the true evidences of Christianity, and to reject the false ones, not only because we may do it without endangering those whom we instruct, but because of the pernicious effects which the method used by these fathers hath produced, contrary to their intention, which seems to have been well meant. By the help of these false miracles a thousand false doctrines and mischievous superstitions have been introduced, to the disgrace of Christianity, and to the support of libertines, who reject false and true miracles altogether, because they see both defended with the same zeal by certain persons in certain places. Thus some fall into a blind and stupid credulity, as well disposed to receive Mahometism as Christianity; and others doubt of every thing. To remedy these evils, we must carefully distinguish a well-grounded assent from a boundless facility of admitting every idle tale. If there are amongst us persons who plead for this kind of implicit faith, and if they seem to be sincere, we must pity and forgive them, but not imitate them. If they act by interested views, which too often is plainly the case, we should strenuously oppose them, and run the risk of incurring insults and censures, more hurtful in reality to those who utter them, than to those at whom they are levelled.

I know there are persons so stubborn and wrong-headed, as to maintain that even Pagan priests were men of veracity, and that their miracles and their oracles were not forged; lest, say they, after we have exposed those Pagans as cheats, we should proceed to treat the fathers in the same manner. These men do more disservice to religion than they are aware of;

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but we must not do the same, either through complaisance to them, or for fear of their calumnies *."

Sulpitius Severus, says Gennadius, suffered himself in his old age to be seduced by the Pelagians, and said something or other in favour of those heretics, or of their doctrine. But discovering his error, he condemned himself, by way of penance, to a perpetual silence; he never spake a word more. An odd resolution, considering that he was a presbyter, whose office it was to instruct the people! However, we are not obliged to believe Gennadius.

"We should be still more assured, says Tillemont †, that the church hath ever reverenced the memory of Sulpitius, if we could be certain that he is the person of whom St Gregory of Tours relates two miracles; one that he caused a tree to die and to revive again by his prayers; the other, that a lily, which sprang up on his grave used to blow annually on the day of his death."

To confirm the story of the *Lily*, we may observe that *Sulpitius* had the same fate with *Hyacinthus*, in *Ovid*; and certainly Ovid is a writer of as good authority in such things as Gregory of Tours.

Te quoque, Amyclide, posuisset in æthere Phœbus,
Tristia si spatium ponendi fata dedissent.
Qua licet, æternus tamen es; quotiesque repellit
Ver hiemem, Piscique Aries succedit æquoso,
Tu toties oreris, viridique in cespite flores ‡.

Concerning the pious fables of Sulpitius about the place whence Christ ascended, see Basnage ‖ and Le Clerc §. The miracle of the impression on the pavement

* Le Clerc, *Bibl. Chois.* xx. 325. † xii. 608.
‡ et. x. 162. ‖ i. 420. § Bibl. A. & M. xvi. 126.

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ment is borrowed perhaps from the print made by the horse-hoofs of Castor and Pollux, in one place; and by the feet of Hercules, in another place. Middleton, in his *Letter* from *Rome*, observes that in several parts of Italy they shew the marks of hands and feet on rocks and stones, miraculously imprinted by some saint or angel. There is also just the same miracle extant *, concerning the footsteps of a god worshipped by the people of Siam, and of another deity adored at Ceylon. Matthew Paris says, that the Dominicans, in the eleventh century, brought from Palæstine a white stone, on which were the marks of Christ's feet †.

Sulpitius placed the pictures of Martin and of Paulinus in a church, over the font; and Paulinus sent him these verses to be put under, which are pretty enough:

Abluitis quicumque animas et membra lavacris,
Cernite propositas ad bona facta vias.
Adstat perfectæ Martinus regula vitæ,
Paulinus veniam quo mereare docet.
Hunc, peccatore; illum spectate, beati;
Exemplar sanctis ille sit, iste reis.

Innocentius the First, commonly called *Saint Innocent*, was pope of Rome. See Du Pin's account of him, from which it appears that he was an usurping, domineering prelate, who encroached upon the rights of bishops and presbyters, and wanted to make the Christian world submit to his insolence. He began a persecution against the Novatians. In his time Alaric

* Act. Erud. A. D. 1689. p. 481. Journal to Mount Sinai, published by Bp. Clyton, p. 20. Bibl. Univ. xiv. 457. xxiii. 223.

† Mosheim, p. 386.

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laric sacked Rome, Rome Christian, which in those days too much imitated Rome Pagan, in superstition, in persecution, and in a depravity of manners. Innocentius was used by those barbarians as he had used the Novatians, and saw his episcopal see ruined *.

Celestius, who was bishop of Rome some years afterwards, continued the persecution.

" He also took away from the Novatians the churches which they had at Rome, and compelled their bishop Rusticula to assemble secretly with his flock in a private house. For till this time the Novatians had greatly flourished at Rome, where they had many churches, and numerous congregations. But jealousy and envy ruined them also, whilst the Roman, like the Alexandrian prelates, not keeping within the sacerdotal bounds, had been long corrupted, and aimed at a tyrannical dominion. For these causes the Roman bishops would not grant the liberty of assembling publicly even to those who agreed with them in points of faith; and commending them for their orthodox sentiments, stripped them at the same time of their possessions. But the bishops of Constantinople were more moderate, and went not into these excesses, *&c.* †"

The Decretals of Pope Innocent are full of episcopal encroachments ‡.

A. D. 404. Arsacius, being fourscore years old, was made bishop of Constantinople, in the room of Chrysostom, who was then deposed and banished. The

* Socrates, vii. 9. † Socrates, vii. 11.
‡ Fleury, v. 456.

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The Greeks call him *saint* in their *Menæa*. But Tillemont most peremptorily pronounces upon him a sentence of damnation, for having accepted that station, and will not allow him even the benefit of purgatory.

At the same time Porphyrius was created bishop of Antioch. He is represented by Palladius and others as a persecutor, and a very wicked man *.

A. D. 406. Vigilantius † was insulted and reviled by Jerom as an enemy to holy reliques, and to other superstitious and senseless practices. It is really a wonder that he fared no worse, and that some zealous monk did not beat his brains out with the jawbone of a martyr.

" It appears not, says Fleury, that the heresy of Vigilantius gained ground, and that there was occasion for any council to condemn it; so contrary was it to the tradition of the universal church."

It is true enough. His heresy slept till the Reformation awakened it; and since that time, all Protestants, all such, I mean, as have not renounced common sense, are of the same opinion about these things with Vigilantius.

" A certain Jew had been confined to his bed many years by the palsy. Having received no relief from the prescriptions of physicians, or from the prayers of the Jews, he determined to have recourse to Christian baptism, hoping that Jesus would be the best physician. This was immediately told to Atticus, the bi-

* Tillemont, xi. 309. Basnage, iii. 208. Theodorus Byzant, p. 235. et not. Fleury v. 236.

† Remarks on Eccl. Hist. ii. 178.

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shop of Constantinople. He therefore having instructed the Jew in the rudiments of the Christian religion, and exhorted him to faith in Christ, ordered him to be brought in his bed to the font, and gave him baptism: whereupon he instantly recovered the use of his limbs, and remained perfectly sound. Thus did Christ deign to shew forth his power by a miraculous cure, even in our days, which converted many of the Pagans. But the Jews, though they require signs and wonders, were not converted by this wonder."

Thus saith Socrates*; and this seems to be one of the more probable miracles of those times which stand upon record. There is nothing in it fantastical, absurd, and unreasonable, either in fact, or the manner, or the tendency. Add to this, that Atticus, by whose ministry it is said to have been wrought, hath a fair character, as a good prelate, an enemy to persecution, and remarkable for charity, liberality, and moderation, as Sozomen informs us. But, on the other hand, when we consider the genius of the fifth century, and of its writers, it is impossible not to hesitate.

It may also perhaps deserve some consideration, whether the bathing, and the force of imagination joined together, might not by a natural operation remove some kind of paralytic disorders.

"Atticus was a man who excelled in erudition, piety, and prudence; on which account the heretics stood in awe of him.—He sometimes at first terrified them, but had no design to distress them, and afterwards was ever mild and gentle towards them.

Finding a schism in his church, and separate conventicles held by those who revered the memory of Chrysostom, he caused his name to be inserted and commemprated

* vii. 4.

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commemorated in the public prayers, as a method to bring them back to his communion.

He was so liberal, that he not only provided for the poor of his own churches, but sent large sums to the neighbouring cities for the same charitable uses. He did so to Calliopus, a presbyter of the Nicene church, and wrote thus to him:

"I am informed that there are in your town six hundred persons oppressed with want; and having received a sum of money from him who is wont to give liberally to faithful stewards, I send you, my dear friend, six hundred pieces of gold, to distribute as you think fit. And you will think fit, I presume, to relieve those who are ashamed to beg, and not those who have always made a trade of begging, to gratify their laziness and their gluttony. I desire moreover, that in the distribution of these alms, you would pay no regard to differences of opinion, but relieve those who are ready to perish, whether they be or be not of our religion *."

Socrates adds, that Atticus foretold the time of his own death.

Atticus discoursing with Asclepiades, the bishop of the Novatians, told him, that they were too rigid in their ecclesiastical discipline. Asclepiades replied;

Besides the crime of sacrificing to idols, there are many other *sins unto death*, as the Scriptures speak; for which you yourselves exclude the clergy, and we the laity also from communion: leaving to God alone the power of forgiving them †.

Upon which Beverege observes;

 "Although

* Socrates, vii. 2. 25, and the Notes.

† Socrates, vii. 25.

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"Although therefore the Novatians excluded such sinners from ecclesiastical communion, yet they acknowledged that God, if they repented, might grant them forgiveness: for which reason they frequently exhorted them to repentance, as we learn from St Ambrose. So it was not God, but the Christian church, from which they took away the authority of pardoning sin, and receiving sinners again; and for this they themselves were justly condemned by the Catholic church, as persons who deprived the priests of the power of the keys."

The Christian priests, says Beverege, have the power of the keys, and can forgive sins. One would rather think that the *Ministers* of the Gospel have power to declare that God pardoneth and absolveth those who are truly penitent, and that all human absolutions are conditional.

I will give thee the keys *, says Christ to Peter; upon which words Jerom makes this remark;

Istum locum Episcopi et Presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur; cum apud Deum non sententia Sacerdotum, sed Reorum vita quæratur.

Yet I have no intention to justify those Puritans, the Novatians, who were too rigid, and the authors of an unreasonable and perverse separation.

A. D. 408. Theodosius junior succeeded his father Arcadius. Socrates † and other historians bestow great commendations upon him, and upon his wife Athenais or Eudoxia, and his sister Pulcheria. He was in some respects an amiable prince, and had good

* Mat. xvi. 19. † vii. 368.

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good qualities. But he was excessively credulous and superstitious, and governed by those about him. A certain bishop dying in odour of sanctity, Theodosius begged his old coat, and used to wrapt himself up in it, in hopes of getting some virtue out of it. As if piety, like the itch, could be catched by wearing another man's clothes.

An impudent monk came one day to him, to ask some favour; and being disappointed, he excommunicated the emperor, and went his way. The scrupulous prince would neither eat nor drink, till the monk, being long sought for, was found at last, and prevailed upon to release the emperor from the curse which he had laid upon him. The story is related at large by Theodoret *; upon which Valesius remarks:

"This account is observable for many reasons. It strongly confirms that known rule of the canon-law, which says that excommunication, although unjustly inflicted, is to be dreaded. For here we see that the emperor, though excommunicated without cause, did not slight the sentence. We farther learn that the power of *loosing* belongs only to the person who had the power of *binding*. The emperor therefore, being bound by an ecclesiastic of an inferior order, did not rest satisfied with the absolution which his own bishop gave him; but wanted to be acquitted by the person who had condemned him. And for this, Theodoret commends him as a religious observer of the divine laws. He says not that this monk was a presbyter; yet I make no question but he was, else he would not have usurped the sacerdotal office of binding and loosing. Therefore also the emperor desired the bishop to lay his commands upon the man, as being one

* v. 37.

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one of his own clergy, to undo what he had done. Whether a simple presbyter hath or hath not the power of excommunicating, I leave to be discussed by others; but from this narrative I should imagine that he hath it not, unless he be appointed to do it by his bishop."

That a sentence of excommunication, though unjustly pronounced, hath a dangerous effect upon the *soul* of him who lies under it, is a doctrine of the canon-law, which no wise man will admit: that it hath a dangerous effect upon his *worldly* condition, no man will deny.

Theodosius mitigated the penal laws against the Pagans, and instead of condemning them to death for sacrificing, only reduced them to beggary and sent them into banishment.

Paganos qui supersunt, si quando in exsecrandis Dæmonum sacrificiis fuerint comprehensi, quamvis capitali pœna subdi debuerint, bonorum proscriptione et exsilio coërceri jubemus *.

He used to subscribe acts and petitions without ever reading them: upon which it is said that his sister Pulcheria, to cure him of this lazy and careless trick, made him sign a deed, by which he sold his wife for a slave, and made her over to his sister.

Pulcheria took upon her the administration of affairs, and the education of her young brother, when she herself was only fifteen years of age. Ecclesiastical historians give her a most extraordinary character, and represent her as learned, prudent, judicious, ingenious, affable, virtuous, and pious. In her youth she made a vow of perpetual virginity, and she was a great friend to ecclesiastics. As a recompence of her piety,

* Cod. Theod.

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piety, says Sozomen, and a proof that she was highly favoured of Heaven, the reliques of the *forty martyrs* were discovered to her. We have the story from Sozomen, who was an eye-witness.

"Pulcheria, says he, the sister of the emperor, was the finder. The holy Thyrsus appeared thrice to her, told her where the martyrs lay buried, and ordered that they should be removed, and deposited near him, that they might partake of the same honours with himself. Also the forty martyrs shewed themselves to her at the same time, arrayed in white robes. When therefore they came to the appointed place, the princess ordered that the ground should be broken up.—Then one of the emperor's retinue thrust down a reed, which he had in his hand, into the hole; and drawing it up, and smelling to it, found that it had a most exquisite odour. Upon this, the princess and the bishop approached, and found a large quantity of ointment, and two silver boxes wherein were inclosed the reliques of the martyrs. The princess then returned thanks to God, for such a signal favour vouchsafed to her; and having honoured the martyrs with a magnificent shrine, deposited them near the reliques of Thyrsus. Upon which occasion there was celebrated a solemn procession, at which I also was present *."

If Sozomen, who it seems attended at the shew, had been let into the secret, he might have informed us how the godly knavery was conducted. I would willingly acquit the pious young princess from having had any hand in the fraud, and transfer it upon her spiritual directors.

In

* ix. 2.

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In those blessed days of visions and revelations, the body of the prophet Zechariah was also found. The prophet appeared in Palæstine to a man who was a farmer and a *rascal*, as Sozomen * himself informs us, and told him the place where he was buried.

Dig here, said he, and you will find a double coffin, and near it a vessel of glass, full of water; also two snakes of a middling size, quite tame and harmless. When the coffin was opened, the divine prophet was seen, clothed in white. Beneath his feet lay an infant, honoured with a royal funeral; for he had a golden crown on his head, and golden shoes, and a magnificent robe. Now the prophet, though he had been buried so long, was entire, close shaven on the head, with a straight nose, a beard of a moderate length, a short head, eyes somewhat hollow, and covered with the eyebrows.

Sozomen's history breaks off here abruptly: for he should have proceeded to another famous romance of the reliques of St Stephen, which were discovered at that time.

Zechariah had been dead about twelve hundred years; and yet his body was entire, and preserved as a blessing for the fifth century.

The two tame snakes, which were in his grave, were copied from Virgil †, where when Æneas had made his offerings and his prayers at the tomb of Anchises,

——adytis—lubricus anguis ab imis
Septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit,
Amplexus placidè tumulum, lapsusque per aras.—
Obstupuit visu Æneas. Ille agmine longo
Tandem inter pateras, et levia pocula serpens,
Libavitque

* Χαλεπὸς, ἢ δύσκολος, ἢ ἄδικος, ix. 17. † Æn. v.

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Libavitque dapes, rursusque innoxius imo
Successit tumulo, et depasta altaria liquit.
Hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,
Incertus, Geniumne loci, famulumne parentis
Esse putet.

So these two snakes were either *genii*, and gods of a lower class, or *attendants* upon the *prophet* and the *young prince.*

Pinge duos angues: pueri, sacer est locus; extra
Mejite *.

Thus we are come to Pagan Christianity, or to Christian Paganism, and to legends favouring, not only relique-worship, but serpent-worship.

O seclum insipiens, et inficetum!

One would think, if there were not full proofs of the contrary, that these stories were made by the Pagans, to ridicule the Christian religion.

The reliques of Samuel had also been found, A. D. 406, and removed from Judæa to Constantinople by Arcadius, who is highly commended for this pious action by Jerom †.

A. D. 408. The Virgin Mary now began to appear to many persons, and to work continual miracles in favour of the Consubstantialists. Gregory Nazianzen had assembled them, being at that time few in number, in a small conventicle at Constantinople.

" This church afterwards became one of the principal churches of the city, and is so now, not only on account of the spaciousness and elegance of the structure, but because of the salutary manifestations of the divine presence, which being afforded to many persons

* Persius i. 113. where see Casaubon. † Epist. 53.

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sons, both waking and sleeping, hath removed their diseases, and their calamities. They are thought to be the appearances of the holy Virgin Mary, mother of God. This church is called *Anastasia;* in my opinion, because the doctrine of the Nicene council, having been long oppressed, and as it were destroyed by the prevailing power of the heretics, arose again and revived by the preaching of Gregory; or because, as others confidently affirm, a woman big with child fell from the highest portico, in the time of divine service, and instantly expired; but the whole congregation earnestly praying over her, she as instantly revived, and the child in her womb *."

Silvanus, bishop of Troas drew a large ship, which the united force of a multitude could not move, because it was stopped by the devil †.

This miracle was borrowed from the known story of the Roman matron Claudia, who did the same, long before Silvanus was born.

A. D. 409. Honorius made a merciful law, that prisoners and criminals should be taken out of jail every Sunday, and permitted to use the bath, and be conducted to the Judges, who should enquire of them how they fared, and how they were treated, and see that they wanted nothing necessary ‡.

A. D. 410. "Honorius, misled by evil counsellors, had in some measure abrogated the laws that he had made against pagans and heretics, and had permitted to all persons a liberty of conscience in chusing and exercising their religion.—But in a law enacted this year,

* Sozomen, vii. 5. † Socrates, vii. 37.

‡ Cod. Theod. L. IX. Tit. iii. p. 40.

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year, he revokes this liberty, and forbids heretics to hold public religious assemblies, under pain of proscription, and even of death *."

Thus you see that all attempts towards religious toleration were always opposed and suppressed.

A. D. 410. "Synesius, a Platonic philosopher of Cyrene, was ordained bishop of Ptolemais, by Theophilus of Alexandria. As soon as Synesius had heard that the people of Ptolemais had chosen him, he wrote to his brother Euoptius, and gave him the reasons for which he declined this honour. He mentions several, the principal of which were, that he would neither put away his wife, nor keep her clandestinely, like an adulterer; that he was a Platonist, and could not receive some doctrines of Christianity. He believed the pre-existence of souls, the eternity of the world, and a resurrection after the Platonic manner, but not in the way that Christians understood it. He calls God and men to witness that these were his real sentiments, and that he had never disguised them. Yet as he was a most agreeable orator, and a man of weight in the province, and as Christians wanted such persons, Theophilus overlooked all these objections, and ordained him, hoping that Synesius would grow orthodox in process of time, as they say he did. Pagi excuses Theophilus, on account of the calamitous times, and the necessity of procuring men of learning and abilities, without looking too nicely into their opinions. Baronius will needs have it that Synesius dissembled and accused himself falsely, purely to shun the episcopal office. But, as Holstenius hath well observed, the contrary is extremely evident, and Synesius was very much in earnest. The Christians,

* Tillemont, *H. des Emp.* v. 574. *H. E.* xiii. 497.

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tians, as Holstenius remarks, endeavoured to draw over those Pagans who were eminent in erudition, and connived at their singularities; and there was no place where such toleration was more needful than Alexandria, where there had long been a resort of learned men, and particularly of Platonists. Therefore the Catechists of that church, as Pantænus, Clemens, Origen, Dionysius, Ammonius, had applied themselves closely to philosophical studies, with a view to gain the Pagans. The doctrines of Origen had still many secret abettors there; and Theophilus himself, who had condemned Origen, used to read his works continually, as Socrates informs us. No wonder therefore that Synesius was received to baptism, such as he was, since the monasteries of Egypt abounded with monks who had the same sentiments.

Theophilus only used the accusation of Origenism as a pretext to condemn certain men whom he hated; and when he had carried his point and ruined them, he troubled himself no farther about the doctrines. Else he would not have tolerated in Synesius what he condemned in others *."

The character of Synesius is of a mixed and ambiguous kind. His learning and vivacity are unquestionable: but for the rest, it would be easy to draw up two accounts, the one in his defence, the other to his disadvantage. Beausobre † is much inclined to favour him; and Tillemont ‡ hath given us an entertaining account of him.

It is a blot upon his reputation that he, who was heterodox in some points, was an enemy of the Arians and Eunomians, and set the rabble against them in his

* Le Clerc, *Bibl. Chois.* viii. 309.

† Hist. de Manich. ii. 565.

‡ xii. 499. Basnage, iii. 239. 253. Fleury, v. 360.

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his diocese. He pretended to be orthodox with relation to the doctrine of the Trinity; and yet his notions on this article were a complete jargon, and a wild fanatical jumble of extravagant errors *.

Synesius had a friend, Evagrius, a philosopher of Cyrene, and an obstinate Pagan; and took great pains for a long time, to no purpose, to convert him. Evagrius objected two things in particular to Christianity; one was the doctrine of the resurrection of the body; the other was the notion that He who giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord, who will repay him.

Synesius however satisfied him at last on these points, and brought him over to Christianity; and then Evagrius put into his hands three hundred crowns of gold, to be distributed to the poor, and said to him, Give me a promissory note under your hand that Jesus Christ will pay me again. The bishop did so; and the philosopher, some years after, lying on his death-bed, ordered his children to put the note into his hand when he was dead, and to bury it with him: which was performed. Three nights after, he appeared in a dream to Synesius, and said, Come to my grave, and take back your note: there is nothing due to me; I have received all; and to convince you of it, I have written a discharge with my own hand, under the note. The bishop, who had known nothing of the affair, sent for the children of his friend, and asked them whether they had put any thing into their father's grave along with him. They supposing that he might mean money, said, No. Did you not put in a paper? said he. Yes, they replied: our father gave us a paper, and ordered us to put it into his hand, without letting any person know of it. Then

* Wetstein, *Proleg. ad N. T.* p. 206, 207.

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Synesius told them his dream, and taking with him several persons, opened the grave, and found the paper, and under the note the following words written by the man's own hand:

"Evagrius the philosopher, to my lord bishop Synesius, health. I have received all that I was to receive, according to your promissory note. Here is an acquittance in full for the sum which I committed to you, and gave by your hands to Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour."

The note was carefully preserved in the church of Cyrene.

This story of the converted philosopher is in the *Pratum Spirituale* of Joannes Moschus. Hence it appears, says Tillemont *, that Synesius was become a good believer. I think so too; for if you admit the premises, you must allow the consequence. I think also that this ill-contrived and ridiculous tale was forged, partly, to be a voucher for his orthodoxy.

It is reasonable enough to suppose that a Pagan philosopher would not easily admit the resurrection of the body; but the doctrine that acts of beneficence procured the divine favour could not seem incredible to him. Virgil would have told him;

Di tibi, si qua pios respectant Numina, si quid
Usquam justitiæ est, & mens sibi conscia recti,
Præmia digna ferent.

A. D. 412. Cyril was made bishop, and made himself lord and master of Alexandria. His first exploit was not very apostolical and evangelical.

"From this time the Alexandrian prelates, going beyond their sacerdotal office, began to act like sovereign

* xii. 527.

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reign princes. Cyril therefore immediately shut up all the Novatian churches in Alexandria, took away all their plate and furniture, and all the goods and chattels of their bishop Theopemptus *."

But a saint and a father of the church will never fail of apologists. Lowth, in his annotations on this passage, says :

" Socrates, ever partial towards the Novatians, makes an odious representation of this affair, insinuating that Cyril acted thus by his own private authority ; though, some years before, the conventicles and possessions of heretics had been alloted to the catholic church,—as Joseph Bingham hath observed."

I must take the liberty to differ from these two learned men, and to observe that this excuse will not justify the behaviour of Cyril.

The Jews of Alexandria, having quarrelled with the Christians, put about a false rumour, one night, that the great church was on fire. The Christians ran from all parts to extinguish it, and the Jews, who were armed and lay in ambush, killed as many of them as they found in the streets.

For this massacre the rioters deserved to be severely punished by the civil magistrate. But Cyril took this office upon himself, and heading the Christian populace, he plundered the houses of all the Jews, guilty or not guilty, who were very numerous in Alexandria, and drove them all away, stripped and ruined, from the city.

Orestes, the governor, offended at this insolent behaviour, and hating Cyril, because he took upon himself the direction of civil affairs, resolved to oppose

* Socrates, vii. 7.

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and depress him, and would not hear of a reconciliation, when Cyril attempted it.

But the prelate kept a standing army of dragoons, namely, the Egyptian monks, and Alexandrian ecclesiastics, who were always ready to fight his battles. Five hundred monks came to Alexandria to assist him. These holy men meeting Orestes in his chariot, first reviled, and then assaulted him, and one of them called Ammonius flung a stone and wounded him in the head, whilst his attendants fled, fearing the vollies of stones, and the fury of the monks. The people at last took courage, and assembled to rescue their governor, and put the monks to flight. Ammonius was seized, and by the governor's order put to the rack, and so severely tortured that he expired. Cyril buried him honourably, and ordered him to be worshipped as a martyr.

After these things, Hypatia, a lady much celebrated for virtue, learning, and philosophy, being suspected of favouring Orestes, and of hindering a reconciliation between him and Cyril, was assaulted by the Christian populace, headed by one Peter, a reader in the church, and cruelly murdered. Cyril was strongly suspected of having been an instigator of this iniquity. Du Pin and Lowth endeavour to vindicate him, as to the affair of Hypatia: but though there is not sufficient evidence to condemn him as author of this murder, yet neither is there room to acquit him. If he was innocent, he should at least have excommunicated those who were concerned in so vile an assasination: but it appears not that he did so. Neither Socrates nor Valesius have dropped one word in his vindication. Philostorgius * says, that Hypatia was murdered

* P. 524.

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murdered by the Consubstantialists; and Damascius says that it was done by the instigation of Cyril. Synesius, who had been her disciple, extols, and almost adores her.

Cyril had in his service a band of parasites, who used to praise him and clap him when he preached.

Afterwards, by his cabals, he with his associates demolished and excommunicated Nestorius in the famous council of Ephesus.

As an author, he stands in no high class. Du Pin's judgment of his performances is pretty nearly thus:

His fund of mystical and allegorical whimsies was inexhaustible, and his writings overflow with such trash, and are neither fit to convince unbelievers, nor to make believers wiser and better. He was well versed in logic and metaphysics, understood the art of wrangling and quibbling, and was a subtle disputant. His sermons are flat and tiresome to the last degree, and full of puns and of jingles upon words. His books against Julian are tolerable; but even there, in style and manner, he is much inferior to the emperor. He had a great facility of composing, and may be called an easy writer; that is, a writer of things which it is easy to commit to paper; for either he transcribes the Scriptures, or heaps remarks together in a slovenly way, or expatiates in the visionary regions of allegory, saying every thing that came uppermost; and in this way of proceeding, a volume is soon compiled *.

* See Socrates, vii. Tillemont, xiv. 267. Du Pin, iv. 41. Fleury, v. 360. Barbeyrac, p. 266. S. Basnage, iii. 336. J. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, vi. 1288. Bayle, *Nestorius*.

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His books against Julian are his principal work; and they are not the most elegant, *non admodum elegantes*, says Valesius on Socrates *.

"Cyril said, that Christians ought to believe, without enquiring too curiously; that a man must be a Jew to insist upon reasons, and to ask HOW, on mysterious subjects; and that this same HOW would bring him to the gallows †."

"The election of Cyril had been opposed by a large party, which wanted to chuse another bishop; but Cyril, being assisted by the soldiers and their officer, got the better. This victory gave him more authority than even his predecessor Theophilus had enjoyed; and from this time the prelates of Alexandria went *a little* beyond the bounds of spiritual power, and took a share of the temporal government."

Thus says Fleury ‡, who should rather have said, *not a little*.

From Augustin ‖ it appears that the bishops of those times, when they exercised acts of judicature, made use of the wholesome discipline of the *whip*, which is not a spiritual, but a temporal weapon.

A. D. 412. Maruthas, a Mesopotamian, and Abdas, a Persian bishop, propagated the Christian religion in Persia. Maruthas, it is said, cured the king of an inveterate head-ache by his prayers; and together with Abdas, expelled a devil out of the king's son. One can hardly believe that miraculous powers were conferred upon Abdas, who, like an enthusiast, burnt a temple afterwards in Persia, and so by his folly

* P. 202. † Bibl. Univ. vii. 54.
‡ v. 366. ‖ Epist. 133.

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folly brought a violent persecution upon the Christians *.

A. D. 414. A most cruel decree was made by Honorius against the African Donatists. It runs thus:

Donatistas, atque Hæreticos, quos patientia Clementiæ nostræ nunc usque servavit, competenti constituimus auctoritate percelli, quatenus evidenti præceptione se agnoscant & intestabiles, & nullam potestatem alicujus hæreditatem ineundi habere, sed perpetua inustos infamia, a cœtibus honestis & a conventu publico segregandos. Ea vero loca, in quibus dira superstitio usque nunc servata est, Catholicæ venerabili Ecclesiæ socientur: ita ut Episcopi, Presbyteri, omnes Antistites eorum, et Ministri, spoliati omnibus facultatibus, ad singulas quasque insulas atque provincias exsulandi gratiâ dirigantur. Quisquis autem hos fugientes propositam ultionem occultandi causâ susceperit, sciat & patrimonium suum fisci nostri compendiis aggregandum, & se pœnam, quæ his proposita est, subiturum. Damna quoque patrimonii pœnasque pecuniarias evidenter imponimus viris, mulieribus, personis singulis, & Dignitatibus pro qualitate sui quæ debeant irrogari. Igitur Proconsulari, aut Vicariano, vel Comitivæ primi ordinis quisque fuerit honore succinctus, nisi ad observantiam Catholicam mentem propositumque convertent, ducentas argenti libras cogetur exsolvere fisci nostri utilitatibus aggregandus. Ac ne id solum putetur ad resecandam intentionem posse sufficere, quoties cumque ad communionem talem accessisse fuerit confutatus, toties mulctam exigatur: & si quinquies constiterit nec damnis ab errore revocari, tunc ad nostram Clementiam referatur,

* Socrates, viii. 8. Bayle, ABDAS.

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tur, ut de solida ejus substantia ac de statu acerbius judicemus, &c. *

Hereupon these miserable and impetuous fanatics were plunged into despair and fury, and resolved to lay violent hands upon themselves. One of their bishops, called Donatus, attempted many times to kill himself; and another was determined to set fire to his conventicle, and to die in it along with his congregation. Dulcitius, the civil magistrate in Afric, who was a good-natured man, found himself in great distress, and knew not how to act. He was afraid of offending the emperor, by shewing any favour to the Donatists; and he was no less afraid of driving these desperate people to self-murder, by putting the law in execution. He therefore consulted Augustin, who advised him by all means to use the utmost rigour, as the best way of converting these schismatics, and of compelling them to come in; since it was better that some of them should burn themselves, than that they should all burn eternally in hell:

Proculdubio melius incomparabili numerositate plurimis ab illa pestifera divisione redintegratis, atque collectis, quidam suis ignibus pereant, quam pariter universi sempiternis ignibus gehennarum merito sacrilegæ dissentionis ardebunt †.

A. D. 415. Pelagius was called to account for his opinions. I have given a pretty full relation ‡ of this controversy. I shall only here transcribe the character bestowed upon his antagonist Augustin, by Cave:

De

* Cod. Theod. L. XV. Tit. v. p. 176.
† Epist. 61. See Basnage, iii. 254. Mosheim, p. 182.
‡ Six Dissertations, p. 29.

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De omnigena ejus eruditione pluribus agere, idem esset ac lucem soli offundere. Hospes sit oportet tum in ejus, tum in aliorum scriptis, qui nesciat Augustinum in toto meliorum literarum circulo eminere; in quæstionibus vero Theologicis primas tenere *.

What an excessive compliment is here paid to a man who, in reality, had not a sufficient quantity of erudition and of judgment to entitle him to this character, or to any thing like it!

The reliques of St Stephen were found, together with those of Nicodemus, and those of Gamaliel, and of Abibas, his son. They were found by the help of revelations and visions, and they wrought innumerable miracles. Tillemont † calls it one of the principal events of the fifth century, and gives a large detail of it, which surely well deserves to be perused; for, take it altogether, it is perhaps one of the most barefaced and impudent impostures that ever was obtruded upon the Christian world. The vouchers for it are Lucian, a presbyter of the church of Jerusalem, who was the happy discoverer of these reliques, Augustin, Sozomen, Orosius, Gregory of Tours, and many more.

"Cave is not willing to give the same credence to modern miracles, as to those which were performed, as they say, in the days of Honorius. He seems inclined to allow that a great number of sick persons were cured by the admirable odour which issued from the sepulchre of St Stephen, when it was first opened, if we may believe Lucian and Photius. But he is much more persuaded of the relation given us by St Augustin concerning the miracles wrought in a chapel, where some reliques of St Stephen were reposited. Cave

* i. 192. † ii. 9—28.

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Cave is of opinion that God might perform such miracles at that time, for the conversion of the Pagans, who were still numerous amongst the Christians; though at present miracles are ceased, because there is not the same occasion for them. The author of the *Logic of Port-Royal*, speaking of these miracles, affirms that every man of good sense, though he should not have a grain of piety or religion, must needs acknowledge them to be true. But a man may have both good sense and piety too, and yet may rather believe that St Augustin was mistaken and credulous, or that he judged it expedient to propagate miraculous tales, which he thought calculated to convert the Pagans, without examining them too strictly. It is true indeed, that he relates them with the utmost confidence; and with the same confidence the most notorious impostures are still recommended to our belief every day *."

Du Pin, speaking of these miracles, says,

" These relations have in them so little of the probable and the credible, that if they were not authorized by the testimony of St Augustin and of Gennadius, we could scarcely believe them."

Du Pin, I presume, means somewhat more than he says †.

" A phial filled with the blood of St Stephen, brought to Naples by one Gaudioso, an African bishop, used to boil and bubble of itself on the third of August, according to the old calendar. But since Gregory XIII. hath corrected the calendar, the blood doth not boil up till the thirteenth of August, on which

* Bibl. Univ. vi. 14.

† See S. Basnage, iii. 268. J. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, l. vi. c. xv. p. 1292. Middleton, *Free Inq.* p. 115. Fleury, v. 431.

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which the festival of the saint is fixed by the new regulation. A manifest proof that the Gregorian calendar is received in heaven, though some heretical countries upon earth refused to follow it *."

A. D. 417. "Anastasius observes that, this year, Easter was kept on a wrong day at Rome, namely, on the twenty-fifth of March, when it ought to have been on the twenty-second of April, on which it was celebrated at Constantinople. He adds that God shewed who were in an error, at a certain village where the fonts, which used to be miraculously filled at Easter, were not found full of water till the twenty-second of April. Baronius produceth many examples of such miraculous fonts †."

A. D. 421. The league between the Romans and the Persians was broken, and a war ensued. One cause of it was that the Persian king cruelly persecuted the Christians in his dominions, and sent to demand those of them who had fled for refuge to the Romans. The Romans refused to surrender them, and chose rather to enter into a war, and to run all hazards; and for this behaviour they deserved commendation. The war was terminated altogether to their advantage, and the Persians received a signal overthrow. Whilst the emperor Theodosius and all the people were in great anxiety about the event, angels appeared to some travellers, and bade them go and assure the inhabitants of Constantinople of a victory. This, saith Socrates, animated both the soldiers and the people. He takes it to have been a real miracle; but it looks more like a pious stratagem of some

* Bibl. Univ. vi. 13. † Tillemont, x. 679. Fleury, v. 462.

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some Christians, and an imitation of the apparition of Castor and Pollux upon a like occasion. The Romans however had reason to ascribe this victory to the good providence of God, considering the justice of their cause, their great success, the detestable cruelty of the Persians, and the heavy loss which that nation suffered of their best troops. After this, it is said that the persecution ceased, or was much abated in Persia.

The Roman soldiers had taken captives seven thousand Persians, who were perishing with hunger and misery. The Persian king earnestly intreated to have them sent back; but the soldiers would not comply with his request. Upon this, Acacius, bishop of Amida in Mesopotamia, performed a most glorious action, to which no victory is to be compared. With the consent of his clergy, he sold all the plate belonging to the church, bought all the prisoners of the Roman soldiers, maintained them for some time till they were in a condition to travel, and sent them home, furnished with all necessaries, to the Persian king, who was astonished at the charity and generosity of Acacius, and sent him an invitation to his court, desiring earnestly that he might have the pleasure of beholding a man to whom he was so much obliged. Acacius obtained leave from Theodosius to go and pay the king a visit *.

A. D. 423. Upon the death of Honorius, John, a considerable person in the palace, usurped the empire. He made some laws disagreeable to the clergy, and ordered that they should be subject to the jurisdiction of secular courts. Perhaps he did this, to oblige the laity:

* Socrates, vii. 18.

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laity: but it was an impolitic action; for the ecclesiastics in those days were too powerful to bear even the shadow of an insult. Valentinian III. rescinded these decrees of the usurper.

Privilegia Ecclesiarum omnium, quæ sæculo nostro Tyrannus inviderat, prona devotione revocamus.—Clericos etiam, quos indiscretim ad sæculares Judices debere deduci infaustus Præsumptor edixerat, Episcopali audientiæ reservamus. Fas enim non est, ut divini muneris Ministri temporalium Potestatum subdantur arbitrio *.

Hence some have concluded that John was not a Catholic but an Arian. However that be, his defeat is represented to us as miraculous; and a dirty shepherd, who was guide to his enemies, is transformed into an angel.

"An angel of God, under the appearance of a shepherd, conducted Aspar and his soldiers, and led them through a lake adjoining to Ravenna, which till then had been unpassable. They going over it, as over firm ground, and coming up to the gates of the city, seized upon the tyrant †."

Philostorgius, in his relation of this transaction, deals less in the marvellous than Socrates, and says;

"Aspar coming suddenly, with some cavalry, after a slight engagement, took John prisoner, who was betrayed by his own people, and sent him to Aquileia, to Placidia, and Valentinian. There, his right hand being first cut off, he was beheaded, after an usurpation which had lasted a year and a half."

Procopius gives him a good character, and says;

"John was mild, prudent, and courageous. Although he had usurped the empire, he governed it with

* Cod. Theod. L. XVI. Tit. ii. p. 94. & Gothofred.

† Socrates, vii. 23.

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with much moderation. He never gave ear to delators, and never deprived any man of life or fortunes in an illegal way, or for the sake of gain *."

A. D. 427. Sisinnius, bishop of Constantinople, who died this year, was a man renowned for temperance, piety, and benevolence to the poor; simple, and affable in his manners, and avoiding much business and public affairs. For which reason he was very unacceptable to active men, and accounted no better than a tame sluggard †.

About this time the famous Symeon Stylites is said to have mounted on a pillar, and to have continued in that sublime situation for thirty-seven years.

A. D. 428. Nestorius was made bishop of Constantinople. In his first sermon before the emperor, he declared openly his intention to wage war with all the heterodox, and promised the emperor success upon earth, and a genteel place in the kingdom of heaven, if he would join with him in extirpating heretics. Even the orthodox were scandalized at this vanity and violence, which presently flamed out in suitable effects; for five days after, he attempted to demolish the church of the Arians, and acted with such fury, that they themselves out of rage and despair set fire to it, and burnt it down, together with other buildings in the neighbourhood. Then he proceeded to plague the Novatians; but the emperor put some stop to it. Then he persecuted the Quartadecimans in Lydia, Caria, and other places; and some murders were committed on this occasion. He also oppressed the Macedonians, and took their churches from

* Bell. Vandal. i. 3. † Socrates, vii. 28.

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from them; nor did he spare the Pelagians; and to conclude, he persuaded the emperor to make laws against all heretics. He led a sober and austere life, and in short, he would have passed for a saint of the first magnitude, as Du Pin observes, if he had not fallen into a notion which was condemned as heretical. It is true; he seems to have had all the qualifications requisite for a fifth-century-saint, except the gift of miracles. The poor man soon had an opportunity of learning the iniquity of persecution by woful experience, and became himself a memorable example of the cruelty of the orthodox prelates instigated by Cyril.

When he had been hastily condemned and deposed in a tumultuous manner by the council of Ephesus, John of Antioch arrived at Ephesus, and taking it as an heinous offence and affront that Cyril and his crew had not stayed for his coming, he instantly called a synod, and excommunicated Cyril for his impudence, and Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, and anathematized all those who would not anathematize the anathematisms of Cyril.

The Emperor Theodosius II. was a mere tool in the hands of ecclesiastics and of courtiers; and Cyril had procured his favour by bribing one of his eunuchs, if we may believe Acacius bishop of Berœa.

For three years together, the quarrel lasted between Cyril and John, who was not one jot better than Cyril. At last, by the interposition and the absolute command of the emperor, John and Cyril were reconciled, and agreed together to sacrifice Nestorius, and to confirm the decrees of the council of Ephesus.

Basnage.

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Basnage *, though mightily inclined to favour the fathers and the synods of those times, yet compelled by stubborn truth, and plain facts, hath given us a tolerably fair account of the irregularities and the dishonesty of the council of Ephesus.

Nestorius was deposed, and confined in a monastery: but his implacable enemies would not let him rest there. They persuaded the emperor to banish him to Oasis in Libya, a barren miserable spot, surrounded with sandy deserts.

It appears from the writings of Nestorius in his banishment, that the Roman governor, whosoever he was, sent him about from place to place, when he was aged, infirm, and sick, on purpose to break his heart and his constitution. The project answered expectation, and the old man died of grief and of cruel usage. But the malice of his enemies died not with him: they put about a story, adopted by Evagrius, that his body corrupted, and his tongue rotted and was eaten of worms, as a divine judgment on him for his blasphemies. The learned Petavius (but he was a furious bigot) was not ashamed to take up this stupid rumour, and give it a place in his book †.

Evagrius hath written a most unfair account of the Nestorian and Eutychian quarrels, crying up Cyril and his associates as saints, and representing Nestorius as the vilest of blasphemers, and worse than Judas Iscariot; and then makes the following digression concerning the variety of theological sentiments amongst Christians:

" Let

* iii. 324, &c. See also Le Clerc. *Bibl. A. & M.* xxiii. 237. xxiv. 1. & 237. Mosheim, p. 220. Six Dissertations, p. 81.

† Ration. Temp. i. 314.

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"Let not the Gentiles deride us, because our later prelates vary from their predecessors, and are always adding something new to our faith. For we searching the mysterious and incomprehensible goodness of God towards men, and endeavouring to honour and extol it as much as we possibly can, follow, some this, and some that opinion. Not one of those who have started heresies amongst Christians, and have fallen into errors, had any design of favouring impiety, and insulting the divine majesty; but in reality, each of these persons thought that he expressed himself better than those who had been before him. And as to the principal and fundamental parts of faith, we are all of one accord *, &c."

Out of thy own mouth shalt thou be judged; for if Christians may err *bonâ fide*, and with the most upright intentions, and if this was generally the case of heretics, the consequence is very clear, that Christians ought not to treat one another as dogs, devils, and Iscariots, for mere mistakes in opinion, nor invent and enlarge unscriptural and metaphysical confessions of faith, on purpose to distress and exclude such persons, nor pass a sentence of anathematism and damnation upon them.

"Some of these fathers could not write their own name, and in the councils they were obliged to employ others to do it for them. This in all probability was very common, since they made no scruple to own a thing which ought to have covered them with shame.

Clarkson, on the liturgy, hath produced many examples taken from the acts of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, where subscriptions are to be found

* i. 11.

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in this form; *I, such an one, have subscribed by the hand of such an one, because I cannot write.* And, *Such a bishop having said that he could not write, I, whose name is underwritten, have subscribed for him* *."

In behalf of the Ephesian council, a miracle was seasonably trumped up, and one St Dalmatius, a monk, had a voice from heaven, ordering him to go and present himself before the Emperor Theodosius, in favour of Cyril, and of the council †.

"Thus, thanks to the purse of St Cyril, the Roman church, which holds the infallibility of general councils, is preserved from an heresy. For if this prelate had been more covetous and less spiteful and malicious, Nestorianism would have been established, and the Virgin Mary would not have been called *Mother of God* ‡."

In the Nestorian controversy, the contending parties seem to have been all of one opinion, as to the doctrine of the Trinity, in opposition to the Arians, and to have held the consubstantiality, coeternity, and natural coequality of the three *persons* or *hypostases*.

According to them, Christ was compounded of the Λόγος, the second person of the Trinity, and was God, and consequently an intelligent agent; of an human soul, which also must be an intelligent agent; and of an human body,

Hence many questions arose, which gave rise to as many controversies. For example, it was debated, Whether the two natures in Christ were so united as to become one? or whether they remained distinct? Whether, since Christ was born, and died, and rose again, it could be said that God was born, and died, and rose again?

Whether

* Bibl. Univ. xvi. 159. † Fleury, vi. 143.

‡ Bibl. Univ. xxi. 27.

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Whether the Virgin Mary, who was the mother of Christ, could be called the mother of God?

Whether Christ were two persons, or only one?

Whether Christ was every where present, in his human, as in his divine nature?

Whether one Person of the Trinity could be said to suffer for us?

Whether the whole Trinity could be said to suffer for us?

Whether in Christ there were three substances, or only two*?

These questions produced altercation and strife, and then anathematisms, and then fightings and murders.

"The opposite heresies of Nestorius and of Eutyches caused great disorders, through the spirit of contention which possessed the divines of those days. If we compare with attention and without prejudice the sentiments of these two men, and accurately examine their expressions, we shall find that at the bottom they were of the same opinion, but that the heat of disputing had so perplexed and confounded them, that they thought themselves to be of different sentiments, because they made use of different expressions. To shew that this was the case, they should be examined apart; and from their own concessions it would have appeared that they were in reality of the same mind. Nestorius should have been asked whether he thought there was such a difference between the natures of Jesus Christ, that it was impossible they should constitute one Christ, and whether he imagined that there was one Christ who was God, and another Christ who was man. He would have replied, No; for

* See Fleury, ix. 78.

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that these two natures were so intimately united, that they constituted one single Messias, and one Redeemer; though no man could form to himself a clear and distinct idea of that union; and that the divine nature remained such as it was before, as the humanity remained humanity, after its union with the divinity.

Conformably to this, he said that of the two natures the divinity only was eternal, and that one could not say that it had been conceived in the Virgin Mary, or born of her, properly speaking, although Jesus Christ was born, and died, and rose again, with relation to his humanity.

Eutyches could not deny this; but then he pretended that the two natures were so intimately united, that one might say, God was born of the Virgin, and died, and rose again. This was speaking very improperly, and without any necessity, since these phrases are not to be found in the Scriptures.

We may see the expressions used by Nestorius and by Eutyches, in the *Dogmata Theologica* of Petavius, who hath carefully collected them; and who, for the honour of the council of Ephesus [and of Constantinople] was obliged to censure both these men with much asperity, that he might find more difference between them and the Orthodox than there really was. If we reflect seriously on these furious contentions, we shall see that the Christians of those times had a much stronger desire to dispute and quarrel, than to discover truth. Cyril of Alexandria hath so explained himself on the union of the two natures, as to suppose it right to say that *God* was born of a Virgin, whom he called Θεοτόκος, *mother of God*, and that he died on the cross. But properly speaking, the divinity

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divinity cannot be born or die: it is the humanity, to which the former was united, that was born and died. They who have read Cyril, the sworn enemy of Nestorius, know that he hath exaggerated things, and confounded together expressions which he ought to have distinguished. The zeal of Petavius drove him into the same excess. How much better would it have been to have adhered to the expressions which are found in Scripture, without introducing new terms* !"

Eutyches, the enemy of Nestorius, was accused of teaching that the two natures of Christ were so united as to become one nature; and was† condemned by the council of Constantinople. The Eutychians were supposed to hold that the two natures coalesced, and that the human nature was absorbed in the divine.

Eutyches had persecuted Nestorius. His own turn came next, and he was condemned, being seventy years old.

The second council of Ephesus, which is called *Latrocinium Ephesinum*‡, restored Eutyches, and deposed the bishops who had deposed him. Afterwards the old man was again condemned and banished; but the mild and charitable Pope Leo obtained of the Emperor Marcian that he might be removed, and sent to some remoter and worse place. It is to be supposed that grief and fatigue, and poverty, and ill usage, and old age, for he was then seventy-six, soon put an end to him§.

Nestorius

* Le Clerc. *Bibl. A. & M.* xxviii. 265.
† A. 448. ‡ A. 449.
§ Fleury, vi. 321. Basnage, iii. 484.

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Nestorius in one of his sermons defied the Egyptian, so he called Cyril, to a fair combat and trial of skill, and accused him of fighting with *golden arrows*, or of bribery. Cyril said the same of Nestorius; and probably both of them said no more than was true.

In the council of Ephesus, the prelates of the opposite factions represented each other as mere rioters and ruffians. In this also there was probably too much truth.

Some of these prelates, says Fleury, subscribed by the hand of a presbyter; one because he had a lame wrist, another because he was sick; others, I suppose, because they had bones and joints in all their fingers.

Theodoret and Acasius say that things were carried on against Nestorius by bribery; and the bishops who sided with Nestorius complained that Cyril prevailed by flatteries and by presents. Even Fleury * owns that Cyril bestowed large gifts upon the courtiers, so that the church of Alexandria was impoverished by those expences; and Tillemont †, though partial and too favourable to him, condemns this part of his conduct.

A. D. 428. Theodorus Mopsuestenus was accused of Pelagianism; and not altogether without cause, for he certainly, as well as other Greek fathers, held most of the tenets which were called Pelagian. He also was accused of Nestorianism. He is highly commended by Chrysostom, by Theodoret, and by the Greeks in general, both as a good prelate, and as a learned and valuable writer. But the general council of Constantinople ‡ condemned the memory and the

* vi. 178. Basnage, iii. 360. † H. E. xiv. 541. ‡ A. 553.

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the books of Theodorus; *and in this sentence*, says Valesius, *the Universal Church hath at length acquiesced.*

But, notwithstanding this formidable decision of a *general council*, Theodorus will for ever be held in esteem by all candid and competent judges. As to the *universal church*, that bugbear which Valesius sets up to scare us, it only means *the Roman-Catholic Church;* that is, *the Particular-Universal-Church* *.

Theodorus wrote a book, levelled against Jerom, in the opinion of Cave.†, which he supports by very probable reasons.

"Although, after his death, he was accused of many pernicious errors, yet they who have considered the extracts from his works, made by Photius, will be grieved that those works are either lost, or only extant in the Syriac language amongst the Nestorians. His Commentaries are said to be in their hands, and for many reasons deserve to be made public. He and Theodoret were men of great learning and abilities.

Theodorus not only wrote a treatise concerning allegories and history, in opposition to Origen, but in his Commentaries on the Old Testament adventured to explain the prophecies, by the help of ancient history, in a literal manner; which method of interpretation in all probability exposed him to envy and censure, no less than his other doctrines. His example however was and is followed by the Nestorians, who preserve his writings with great care, and account him a saint of the first rank ‡."

A. D. 429. Germanus was sent to England, to stop the progress of Pelagianism. I have ‖ elsewhere

 given

* See Theodoret, v. 46. Basnage, iii. 322. † i. 387.
‡ Mosheim, p. 208, 211, 212. ‖ Six Dissertat. p. 72.

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given some account of this saint, and of his exploits and miracles.

A. D. 432. Paul, the Novatian bishop, miraculously saved his church, by his prayers, from being burnt; as Socrates positively assures us *. Now, what say the Papists to this? They say that Paul was a schismatic, and then they reason and conclude *à priori*, that schismatics never work miracles. Yet there is better evidence for this wonder, than for ten thousand which they adopt; and when Socrates relates an orthodox miracle, they swallow it without hesitation.

A. D. 434. Proclus was made bishop of Constantinople. Socrates gives him an extraordinary and almost a singular character for mildness and moderation towards the heterodox, and says,

"He was, if ever man was, a person of excellent morals. Being instructed by Atticus, he studiously imitated all his virtues, and in patience he surpassed him. For Atticus would sometimes threaten and terrify the heretics; but Proclus was mild towards all, hoping to win them over by kind usage. He was firmly resolved to persecute none of those people; and thus he preserved the dignity of long-suffering, and restored it, as a sacred deposit, to the church. Herein he imitated Theodosius the younger; for as the emperor never would exert his power against offenders, so the bishop never molested those who differed from him in religious opinions †."

How few saints and prelates are to be found in Ecclesiastical History who resembled this bishop! Socrates

* vii. 39. † vii. 41.

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crates also comes in justly for a share of commendation, since he had the courage to commend such a behaviour, though he wrote in times when little of it was to be found. But Socrates was a layman; and in those days the clergy were the chief fomenters of persecution.

A. D. 443. Pope Leo exerted his zeal in persecuting the Manichæans. They were to be found out, as he says, by their refusing to drink at the communion. *Ore indigno Christi corpus accipiunt; sanguinem autem redemtionis nostræ haurire declinant* *.

Leo, with his council †, condemned Hilary of Arles, as a turbulent seditious prelate, who usurped too much authority, and was disobedient to the holy see of Rome. Thus one *saint* is reviled and stigmatized by another; and what shall we think of it? Hilary was certainly a much better man than the insolent and persecuting Pope Leo, who applauded the massacre of the Priscillianists, and grossly misrepresented them ‡.

A. D. 445. This year the *seven sleepers* awaked, who flying from the persecution of Decius, entered into a cave near Ephesus, in the year 250, and slept 195 years ||.

A. D. 447. There was an earthquake at Constantinople; at which time a boy was taken up into heaven, before all the people, and there heard the angels sing

* See Basnage, iii. 401. † A. 445.

‡ Fleury, vi. 268. Basnage, iii. 408. 471. Du Pin, iv. 138. Barbeyrac, p. 320.

|| Cave, i. 551.

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sing their hymn; and came down on earth again, and repeated it to Proclus the bishop, and to others, and then died. This story is adopted, not only by Baronius, which is no marvel, but even by Valesius, from whom better things might have been expected. This same hymn or litany is called *The Trisagium*; and it is,

Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Sanctus Deus, sanctus Fortis, sanctus Immortalis, miserere nobis.

It is intended, as bishop Beverege wisely observes, for an invocation of the Trinity. Some saucy Greeks afterwards presumed to interpolate the angelic song, by adding to it, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς· *qui crucifixus es pro nobis.* And this caused terrible combustions and quarrels in the church *.

If Greek is the language spoken in heaven, it is bad news for our enthusiastical preachers, who know nothing of that tongue. Baronius, who knew as little of it as they, should, instead of writing Ecclesiastical History, have applied himself to the study of Greek. As to Valesius, he had a good share of it, to which he could trust.

A. D. 448. Theodosius made a law, ordaining that the works of Porphyry against Christianity should be burnt; that the Nestorians, if they were ecclesiastics, should be driven from their sees or churches; if laics, should be excommunicated; and that it should be permitted to every Catholic to inform against them; that all books the doctrine of which should not be conformable to that of the Nicene council, and of the council of Ephesus and to the decisions of St Cyril, should

* Evagrius, iii. 44. Basnage, iii. 417. Fleury, vi. 569.

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should be destroyed, and the concealers of them should be put to death *.

A. D. 449. The second council of Ephesus was held. Ecclesiastical historians speak of it with detestation, and call it *Latrocinium Ephesinum* †.

A. D. 451. The council of Chalcedon drew up a creed, which according to Basnage ‡ runs thus:

Sequentes igitur sanctos Patres, unum eundemque confiteri Filium Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum constanter omnes docemus, eundem perfectum in Deitate, eundem perfectum in Humanitate: Deum verum et hominem verum, eundem ex anima rationali et corpore; consubstantialem Patri; secundum humanitatem per omnia nobis similem, absque peccato, &c.

But in the original it is thus ‖;

—ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ KATA THN ΘΕΟΤΗΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΌΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωποτέτα.

Here Basnage, in his Latin citation, leaves out these important words:

Consubstantial with the Father [AS TO HIS DIVINITY, AND CONSUBSTANTIAL WITH US] as to his humanity.

From this remarkable expression (if these fathers knew what they said) it may be inferred that by *consubstantiality* they meant to establish a *generical*, and not a *numerical* identity of substance.

But what shall we think of this omission of Basnage? Was it a mere oversight? or was it a piece of legerdemain?

Their

* Concil. Ephes.
† See Basnage, iii. 438.
‡ iii. 462.
‖ Evagrius, ii. 4. p. 291.

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Their decrees were ratified, and the heretics fully confuted, by a miracle wrought by the reliques of Saint Euphemia *.

The prelates at this council complained of Barsumas the monk, who had murdered Flavian the bishop; and they say of him, He overturned all Syria, and he brought against us a thousand monks.

Hence it appears what dragoons the monks were in those days. The emperors, who often wanted troops, should have pressed them all for recruits.

Concerning the acts of this council, and the encroachments of Pope Leo, see Cave †.

A. D. 452. At this time, Theodosius, a monk, under pretence of maintaining orthodoxy, stirred up and headed the monks of Palæstine, and filled Jerusalem with tumults, set fire to houses, broke open jails, murdered a bishop, and some other persons, and caused himself to be elected bishop of Jerusalem. Yet this wretch found means to hide himself, and to escape punishment ‡.

The prelates of Constantinople acquired the title of patriarchs from the council of Chalcedon, having before only that of bishops and of archbishops. In the *Chronicon Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, by Philippus Cyprius, an account is given of all the prelates of that see ‖.

A. D. 452. Valentinian made a law § to restrain the encroachments of the bishops, who were for ever meddling in matters of civil jurisdiction. He allows them to be judges only in points merely spiritual and ecclesiastical, and permits appeals from them to the civil

* Tillemont, v. 409. † i. 482. ‡ Basnage, iii. 474.
‖ Bibl. Univ. vii. 48. § Basnage, iii. 471.

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civil courts, in all other cases. For this wholesome decree Baronius insults and reviles the emperor, and calls it *indignam plane Christiano Principe sanctionem.* But Fleury * mentions this law, without passing any censure at all upon it.

A. D. 453. The popes at this time began to keep *spies* and *informers* at Constantinople.

"St Leo recommends to the emperor Marcian one Julian, whom he declares to be his legate, established by him to solicit at the emperor's court all things relating to the faith and peace of the church against the heretics of the age. This is the beginning of the pope's legates residing at Constantinople, who were afterwards called *apocrisiarii*, or *correspondents*, employed by the popes to maintain faith and discipline, to watch narrowly the prelates of Constantinople, and to hinder them and other patriarchs of the east from attempting any thing prejudicial to the *Catholic church* †."

A. D. 455. Geisericus king of the Vandals attacked Rome, and pillaged, and in a manner destroyed it, and returned to Carthage with a great number of prisoners.

When the captives had reached the African shore, a new calamity was added to their distress; for the husbands were to be separated from their wives, and the children from their parents. Upon this sad occasion, the bishop of Carthage, whose name was *Deogratias*, surpassed himself in liberality. To hinder this cruel separation, he sold all the church-plate, which was of gold and silver, and ransomed these captives,

* vi. 478. † Fleury, vi. 480.

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tives. As there was no accommodation in the city for them, he filled the churches with beds of straw. He visited their sick who were numerous, attended with physicians, and carrying with him proper food for them; and went the rounds every night, to see how they fared, and what they wanted; not deterred by his own infirmities and weak old age *.

In our travels through the gloomy paths of Ecclesiastical History, we now and then meet with such prelates as this, shining lights, of whom the world was not worthy.

A. D. 457. Timotheus was made bishop of Alexandria, a profligate wretch, who was nicknamed *Timotheus Ælurus*, that is, *Timothy the Cat*, because he had crept about in the dark, pretending to be an angel, and deluding the stupid monks, to serve his own ends, and to obtain the bishoprick.

He caused his predecessor Proterius to be murdered in the church, and his dead body to be dragged through the city, and cast into the fire †.

A. D. 459. Salvian, a presbyter of Marseilles, a learned and candid man, and a firm Consubstantialist, speaks very handsomely and charitably of the Goths and Vandals of the fifth century, who were Arians; and boldly declares that in regularity and good discipline, in piety, charity, chastity, moderation, and every moral virtue, they much surpassed the orthodox Romans, or Greeks.

They are heretics, says he, in our opinion, but not in their own: they are in an error, but they err for want

* Victor, *De Persec. Vandal.* Basnage, iii. 486. Fleury, vi. 504.
† Theodorus Lector, l. i. p. 565.

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want of knowledge, and with a pious intention. What sentence the Judge will pronounce upon them at the last day, he alone knows. In the mean time, God is long-suffering towards them, and exercises his just judgments upon us, because if our faith is better than theirs, their behaviour is better than ours; because ignorance is entitled to some favour; wickedness to none, &c. *.

" It is an illustrious instance of the piety of the Goths, that when, under Alaric, they took Rome, they granted not only life, but liberty to all those who fled to the churches of the apostles, and to the tombs of the martyrs. St Augustin highly extols this their behaviour, and Orosius scruples not to call it a proof of their fear of God, and reverence for religion. He adds that Alaric took care that all the sacred vessels, which had been taken away out of St Peter's church, should be restored. Nor was it Alaric alone who acted thus. Totilas afterwards did the same, when he took possession of Rome, as Procopius informs us. He also adds that the Goths, whilst they besieged Rome, did no damage to the churches of the two apostles, which were without the city, and suffered the Roman presbyters to perform divine service in them. Nor is it a matter deserving small commendation, that the Vandals, except in the reign of Hunneric, and of Gundebund, and the Goths at all times, abstained from doing violence to the consciences of their subjects, and permitted the embracers of the Nicene faith to believe, to teach, and to worship God after their own way. The ambassadors of the Goths declare to Belisarius that no man amongst them was ever driven by threats or violence to change his religion;

* De Provident. l. v.

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ligion ; that the Goths themselves, if they were inclined to adopt the Nicene faith, were at full liberty to do it ; and that the Goths shewed no less reverence to all consecrated places than the Romans. Sidonius, a prelate of great renown amongst the Catholics, says of Theodoric, king of the Westrogoths, *Antelucanos Sacerdotum suorum cœtus minimo comitatu expetit, grandi sedulitate veneratur*. Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths and of Italy, is highly extolled for his piety by Ennodius, a catholic bishop. So careful was he even of the religion of the Consubstantialists, though he followed it not, that he always gave them for bishops the worthiest persons that he could find. He put a stop to all simoniacal ordinations; and respectfully desired the prayers of the catholic clergy, as we are told by Cassiodorus. So that I wonder not to find that even Silverius, the catholic bishop of Rome, was suspected by the Greeks as preferring the dominion of the Goths to that of the Greek emperor *."

As the Gothic princes shewed their humanity in tolerating those of a different persuasion, they shewed their prudence in not permitting their clergy and their people to chuse themselves bishops without leave of the sovereign, or any of their subjects to enter into the service of the church, or into a monastic state, without their permission, and thus they continued to act after they had quitted Arianism †.

Theodoric put Symmachus and Boëtius to death, upon false reports ; and this, says Procopius ‡, was the only act of injustice and cruelty that ever he committed against his subjects.

A. D.

* Grotius, *Proleg. ad Hist. Goth.*

† Joann. Garssias, *apud* Grot.

‡ Bell. Goth.---Basnage, iii, 584.

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A. D. 461. Pope Leo died. Basnage * observes of him, that his foible was ambition, and that he obtained of the emperor Valentinian that all the western bishops should be obedient to his jurisdiction; but that he compensated this defect by his religious zeal, and by oppressing the Manichæans, Eutychians, Nestorians, and Pelagians.

About this time Daniel, the monk, at the death of Symeon Stylites, took up the same profession, and lived on the top of a pillar. He died upon it, A. D. 490, being eighty years old †.

A. D. 466. A certain man fled for protection to a monastery, of which St Marcellus was abbot. Some soldiers were sent to fetch him out by force: but the abbot would not give him up. The soldiers surrounded the monastery in the night, threatening to break in at the morning. But they saw a fire from the top of the building, darting its rays at them, like flashes of lightning; upon which they laid down their weapons, and went to prayers.—This miracle is supposed to have given occasion to the celebrated law of the emperor Leo, in favour of sanctuaries ‡, &c.

Thus an artificial Phosphorus served for many excellent purposes.

St Mamertus ||, bishop of Vienna in Gaul, was the institutor of the *rogation days*, or three days of fasting and supplications, before the feast of the ascension. He was a worker of miracles, and the finder of the bodies of two old martyrs. He was persecuted and condemned by Pope Hilarus; upon which Baronius observes; *Who knows not that it often happens that*

* iii. 504. † Fleury, vi. 359. vii. 43.
‡ Fleury, vi. 582. || Basnage, iii. 512.

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popes are misled by false representations to condemn the innocent?

He hath made, for once, a fair concession. But what a tribunal is this, to which all mankind ought to be subject; a tribunal where calumny triumphs over innocence, notwithstanding the assistance of *infallibility* to direct the vicar of Christ?

James, by birth a Greek, by religion a Pagan, was a most learned man, and an eminent physician. He was sent for by the emperor Leo, who was ill of a fever. When he came into the chamber, without staying for the emperor's leave, he sat down on a chair that was placed by the bed-side, and felt his pulse. Returning the same day, and observing that the chair was taken away, and guessing the reason, he sat down on the bed-side, and told the emperor that in so doing he was not guilty of arrogance and disrespect, but only followed the precepts and the practice of his predecessors, the ancient physicians *.

A. D. 471. Martyrius, bishop of Antioch, finding the inhabitants seditious, and favourers of Peter the Fuller who wanted to drive him out, called them together, and threw up his bishopric, saying, Farewell to a contumacious clergy, a disobedient people, and a contaminated church †.

Gennadius, bishop of Constantinople, died. He passed for a worker of miracles, and left behind him a good character and a great reputation. He had a bad opinion of Cyril of Alexandria, and of his doctrines, and accounted him a blasphemer ‡.

Acacius

* Marcellinus, *Chronic.* † Theodorus Lector, p. 567.
‡ Basnage, iii. 499. 527.

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Acacius was made bishop of Constantinople, and was excommunicated by Pope Felix, because he would not submit to the papal authority. This caused a rupture between the eastern and western churches.

A. D. 479. Odoacer, who ruled in Italy, had none of the manners of a barbarian; nor did the Arian religion, which he professed, hinder him from reverencing the orthodox clergy, whom he suffered to act with full liberty of conscience *.

Hunneric, king of the Vandals, gave leave to the Consubstantialists at Carthage to chuse a bishop, at the request of the emperor Zeno: but it was upon condition that the Arians should be unmolested in the east; else he declared that he would use reprisals.

The catholics therefore in Afric chose Eugenius for their bishop, a man who bore a good character, and is extolled by Victor, particularly for his great charity to the poor.

But Hunneric afterwards growing cruel, banished Eugenius, and persecuted the Consubstantialists. He ordered that some of them should lose their right hands, and have their tongues cut out; and they spake as plainly after it as they did before, if we may believe Victor, and Marcellinus Comes, and also Procopius †.

Baradatus was a Syrian monk, who devised new ways of mortification. First he shut himself up in a small chamber; and then ascending a mountain, he made for himself a wooden box in which he could not stand upright, and was always confined to a stooping posture. This box having no close covering, he was exposed to the wind, to the rain, and to the

* Basnage, iii. 547. Fleury, vii. 34. † Bell. Vandal. c. 8.

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sun; and for a long time dwelt in this incommodious house. Afterwards, he always stood upright, stretching up his hands to heaven, covered with a garment of skin, with only a small opening to draw his breath.

James, another contemporary monk, lived at first in a small hut; and afterwards in the open air, with only heaven for his covering, during the extremes of heat and cold. He had iron chains round his neck and waist, and four other chains hung down from his neck, two before and two behind. He had also chains about his arms. His only food was lentils. For three days and nights he was often so covered with snow, whilst he was prostrate and praying, that he could hardly be seen. This man is celebrated for the many miracles which he wrought *.

A. D. 480. The Persian king waged war with the Nephtalites, his neighbours. It was, as Procopius † informs us, a custom amongst this people, that the richest men chose twenty or more friends, whom they received constantly at their table, and gave them the free use of all their possessions. But when this patron died, all these chosen companions were buried alive along with him in the same grave.

There was a dreadful earthquake at Constantinople, which lasted forty days ‡.

A. D. 481. The Alexandrians lost a great rarity in their church, namely, a good bishop, when Timotheus Salofaciolus died.

He was so mild in his administration, that his own flock complained of him to the emperor, and accused him

* Theodoret. Basnage, iii. 500.
† Bell. Persic. c. 3. ‡ Chron. Marcellini.

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him of being too gentle and remiss towards heretics; and the emperor sent him orders not to suffer those people to baptize, and to celebrate divine service. Yet he persevered in his moderation; so that the heterodox party at Alexandria held him in high esteem, and used to say to him, as he passed by, Though we do not communicate with you, yet we love you *.

The emperor Zeno's *Henoticum* was a decree contrived partly with a view to extinguish the Nestorian and Eutychian quarrels. But the warm men could not endure it, because it would deprive them of the pleasure of cursing and plaguing their neighbours. Petavius therefore condemns this ungodly scheme of pacification, and says,

"Zeno published a new creed, so slily worded, that both the heretics and the Catholics could assent to it; and called it Ἑνωτικὸν, *the Reconciler*. Yet it contained a tacit abrogation of the council of Chalcedon. This wicked edict of the emperor was opposed and rejected by the Catholic bishops, and by the head of them all, Pope Felix †."

Vigilius Tapsensis hath been supposed by many to have been the maker of the *Athanasian Creed*, about this time. Others are of a different opinion. But it matters little by whom, or where, or when it was composed.

A. D. 485. Xenaias, afterwards called Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis, though he hath no good character in other respects, had the honour to be the first Iconoclast, and began the attack upon images of the

 Trinity,

* Liberatus, c. 16. Fleury, vi. 612.

† Ration. Temp. i. 329. Basnage, iii. 552.

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Trinity, and of saints and angels. But after a very long and violent contest, the worship of images prevailed, and triumphed over all opposition, as more suitable to the bigotry, stupidity, and knavery of the ensuing times.

Philoxenus said that it was indecent to represent incorporeal angels in a corporeal form; that Christ was not to be painted or carved, but to be worshipped in heart and spirit; that it was childish to make the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove. He threw away the images of angels, and concealed in a secret place as many images of Christ as he could find. He was therefore greatly abhorred by the image-mongers *.

A. D. 488. The body of St Barnabas was found, by revelation, at Cyprus, and on his breast the gospel of St Matthew, in Greek, transcribed by St Barnabas himself. See an account of these *lies* in Basnage †, who treats the discovery as a pious fraud. Tillemont ‡ believes it all, and did not see that it was a mere political job. Anthemius, bishop of Salamis, made use of this discovery to prove that his see, being founded by Barnabas, was an apostolical church, no less than that of Antioch, and therefore ought not to be subject to the patriarch of Antioch. He actually carried his point, and obtained an exemption.

A. D. 491. An infirmary, or hospital, was established in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, for the reception of those zealous monks, who, rashly attempting

* Basnage, iii. 598. Fleury, vii. 37. † iii. 574.
‡ i. 394. Fleury, vii. 38.

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ing to lead the life of hermits, had lost their senses, and afterwards had recovered them *.

The *loss* is not to be questioned; the *recovery* may well be questioned.

Gelasius, who was made pope in the year following, had the effrontery to send an epistle to the emperor Anastasius, in which he claimed to himself and to his see infallibility, or something very like it. He was a persecutor of the Pelagians, and a scribbler against them. He pretended to advance the papal authority even above general councils. *But we must remember*, says Fleury †, *that he who speaks thus is a pope.*

In an ancient *sacramentarium*, a kind of liturgy, or common-prayer-book, ascribed to this pope, the Nicene creed hath not the addition of *Filioque;* but it is only said of the Holy Ghost, that he *proceedeth from the Father:* which, as Fleury ‡ observes, shews the antiquity of that book.

A. D. 493. Theodoric was in many respects a great and an excellent prince. We may believe Petavius, who was not disposed to commend heretics:

"Odoacer being conquered, Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, became master of Italy.—And at first he reigned in such a manner, that he deserved to be compared to the very best of the Roman emperors.—Though, with his countrymen, he was of the Arian sect, yet he faithfully continued and protected all the rights and liberties of the Roman church. But as he grew old, he inclined to cruelty and barbarity ‖."

* Fleury, vii. 50.
† vii. 75. Basnage, iii. 585.
‡ vii. 91.
‖ Ratien. Temp. i. 338.

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He put to death two judges, for having procrastinated causes that were brought before them.

A woman of quality complained to him that she had been three years at law with a senator, and could not get the cause decided. He sent for the judges, and told them that if they did not speedily finish the affair, he would put them to death. They, after an hearing of two days, gave sentence for the woman; who went and returned thanks to the king. He then called the judges before him, and said, Why did you protract a suit for three years, which you have finished in two days?

After this, he ordered them both to be beheaded; which severity put an end to such delays *.

Alaric, king of the Visigoths in Spain, treated also the Consubstantialists with great humanity.

Hilderic, king of the Vandals, though he had promised his predecessor Thrasamond, that he would never open the churches of the Catholics in Afric, and restore them their privileges, yet changed his mind, and recalled their exiled bishops, and gave them leave to assemble; but yet he would not join himself to their communion. At the same time, Theodoric was no less favourable to them in Italy.

On the contrary, Hormisda the pope persecuted the Manichæans, and caused them to be whipped, and then banished; and Justin the emperor oppressed all the heretics in his dominions. He began to treat the Arians cruelly; but Theodoric protected them, by threatening that he would use reprisals.

Gundabund, king of the Vandals, succeeded Hunneric.

"He

* Basnage, iii. 584.

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"He ordered a burying-place at Carthage to be restored to the Catholics, and recalled their bishop Eugenius from banishment. He opened their churches, which had been shut up, and at the request of Eugenius, he gave leave to all the presbyters to return home *."

Thus these Barbarian and Arian princes shewed clemency to the Catholics, who probably would have shewed none to the Arians, if their power had been equal to their inclinations.

At this time Arianism was the flourishing and ruling religion in the west, in Aquitain, Burgundy, Italy, Spain, and Afric †.

A. D. 496, Clodoveus, or Clovis, king of the Franks, was baptized: at which time, says Hincmar, suddenly a light brighter than the sun filled the church, and a voice was heard, saying, *Peace be with you: it is I: be not afraid · abide in my love.* Then a most fragrant odour perfumed the whole place; and a *dove* came, and brought in her bill a vial full of chrism, with which his majesty was anointed. This was, as Baronius excellently observes, *A miracle worthy of the apostolical times.* The *Sancta Ampulla* is still preserved, and reverenced by the godly; and the Abbé Vertot was not ashamed to write a Dissertation in defence of it. Middleton ‡ hath made some remarks on this miracle.

Archbishop Hincmar, says Fleury ‖, so late as in the year 869, is the first voucher for the truth of the *Sancta Ampulla, the Holy Vial.* Hence, I think, and from Fleury's

* Prosper, *Chron.* Hermannus Contractus.
† Fleury, vii. 136. 267. 269, 270. 283.
‡ Vol. i. 124. ‖ xi. 229.

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Fleury's silence when he relates the baptism of Clovis, it may be concluded that he had not such a portion of faith as Baronius, and that he believed nothing of this miracle. The same may be said of Daniel, who wrote the History of France.

The conversion of Clovis, says Vertot, was not less a masterly stroke of policy, than a miracle of grace; and this prince, after his baptism, did not reign in Gaul because he was the strongest, but because the clergy had disposed the people to receive him as their lawful Sovereign *.

Clovis, in honour to whose piety this miracle was wrought, was a Christian, it seems: but a strange sort of Christian. He retained all the ferocity and barbarity that he had when he was a Pagan. Restless, ambitious, and sanguinary, as most conquerors are, he murdered kings and princes who were his near relations.

If there be any truth in the story (which I do not believe) I would suppose, with Mosheim †, that the ecclesiastics, who attended at the king's baptism, had trained up a tame dove to fly to the font, with a phial hung to her neck. Why not? We had here a *Canary-bird*, who could perform greater feats, and play as many ingenious tricks as his predecessors, the *Little Horse*, and the *Chein Savant*, to the astonishment of the spectators.

A. D. 498. Olympius, an Arian, being in the bath at Constantinople, and disputing there with some of the contrary party, used very profane expressions

* Mem. de l'Acad. T. iv. 306. Basnage, iii. 593. Le Clerc, *Bibl. Chois.* xxvii. 37.

† P. 196.

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sions concerning the Trinity. Immediately he was punished by an angel, who flung *three* pails of scalding water upon him; and he expired in a miserable condition. Basnage* adopts this miracle. The voucher for it is one who did not see it, Victor Tununensis, who might possibly be born at that time, but flourished several years after. St John Damascene also relates it; but this *saint* is a noted *liar*, and he lived long afterwards. However, Jack, to do him justice, did not make it; he found it upon record.

If it be not a mere fiction, the angel might possibly be one of the servants at the bath, who, it may be, clapped a pair of paper wings upon his shoulders, to give himself an angelic appearance.

At this time Laurentius and Symmachus were elected popes by two opposite factions, which filled the city of Rome with tumults and massacres.

A. D. 494. Anastasius, the emperor, abolished an infamous tax upon beggars and bawdy-houses.

Rem ad decus et gloriam insignem putavit Anastasius, remoto infami tributo, quod Chrysargyrum *vocabatur. Impositum erat iis qui stirpe collatitia victitabant, et mulierculis quæ corpore quæstum faciebant, et masculis qui muliebria passi et naturam ipsam et rempublicam ignominia afficiebant. Qua collatione licitum cuivis erat incestam libidinem perpetrare. Neque novum illud pensitandi genus, cum imperante Caligula solveretur.—Pendebatur et regnante Alexandro Severo, quod tamen ærario suo optimus Princeps inferri noluit*, &c. †

* iii. 498. † Basnage, iii. 602.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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REMARKS

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